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A Study of the Influence of the Mormon Church on the Catawba Indians of South Carolina 1882-1975

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A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE MORMON CHURCH
ON THE CATAWBA INDIANS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
1882 - 1975

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Jerry D. Lee
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This thesis, by Jerry D. Lee, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.** .......................................................... vi

**LIST OF TABLES** ................................................................. vii

**PREFACE** ................................................................. viii

Chapter
1. **INTRODUCTION** ......................................................... 1

   Purpose and Significance .................................................. 1
   Literature About the Catawbas ........................................... 2
   Research Design ............................................................ 3
   Delimitations ............................................................... 4
   Statement of Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis ........... 4

2. **INTRODUCTION TO THE CATAWBA INDIAN NATION** .................. 6

   Origin ........................................................................... 7
   Historical Developments ................................................... 9
   Social Developments ....................................................... 11
   Treaties with British ..................................................... 13
   Treaties with South Carolina ............................................. 16
   Attempts to Christianize Catawbas ...................................... 21
   Contact with the Mormons ............................................... 24

3. **EARLY MORMON HISTORY** .................................................... 25

   Early Church History ..................................................... 25
   The Lamanite Mission ..................................................... 26
   The Journey Westward ..................................................... 27
   Western Indian Missions ................................................. 28
# Chapter

South Carolina ........................................... 29  
Political Missions ....................................... 32  
Reorganization of Southern States Mission. .......... 32

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH AMONG THE CATAWBA ... 46

Continued Conversions and Branch Organization. ....... 46  
Attitude of Gentiles ....................................... 47  
Mob Violence ............................................... 49  
Gathering to Zion. ........................................ 56

5. THE CATAWBA AND THE CHURCH IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. 60

Education .................................................. 60  
Expansion and Growth ...................................... 65  
Positive Reaction. .......................................... 66  
Chief Blue .................................................. 67  
Continual Growth. ......................................... 71

6. RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT .......... 74

Federal Recognition ........................................ 74  
Termination .................................................. 82  
Reactions to Termination ................................... 88  
Tribal Organization and Government .................... 92  
Re-recognition by Federal Government .................. 96  
Settling of Claims against the Federal and State Government ........................................ 98

7. CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY ................................ 101

Social ....................................................... 101  
Economic .................................................... 102  
Political .................................................... 103  
Religious .................................................... 104
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Map of Catawba Reservation Following the Treaty of Augusta, 1764................................. 15
2. Map of New Catawba Reservation Following Federal Recognition, 1943 ......................... 79
3. Map of Location of the Catawba Indian Nation (1975) .......................................................... 89
LIST OF TABLES

1. Chiefs of the Catawba Nation ......................... 69
2. Total Catawba Adult Labor Force Exclusive of
   Specific Geographic Residence ......................... 95
3. Catawba LDS Converts - 1882-1912 ..................... 106
4. South Carolina Tribes ................................. 107
PREFACE

When the writer's family moved to Rock Hill, South Carolina, from Georgia in 1948, they attended the nearest branch of the Mormon Church, which was located on the Catawba Indian Reservation about eleven miles from their home. For the next decade it appeared that they spent most of their time traveling to and from the Reservation for worship, meetings, and social activities.

The writer's interest in the Catawbas continued even after a branch was organized in Rock Hill. As he became more familiar with the literature pertaining to the Catawbas, the writer became increasingly aware of a very noticeable gap in the understanding of early Catawba history as far as their relationship with Mormons was concerned. This thesis is an attempt to bridge that gap.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the personal debt owed to Dr. Ted J. Warner for his encouragement and direction in the selection of this topic. The writer also acknowledges Dr. Warner and Dr. Eugene Campbell for their evaluation and criticism and for their gracious personal considerations. The writer expresses his gratitude to the BYU Library and Church Historical Department and Archives for their help and for access to their documents, without which this project would have been impossible.
not have been possible. Special thanks are extended to Roger Snow Trimnal for the information and explanations which he generously supplied.

Finally, but most importantly, the writer wishes to thank his eternal wife, Linda, for her mental and physical encouragement during the course of this study.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Significance

Mormonism was very unpopular in the Southern portion of the United States in the 1870s and 1880s. Mormon missionaries in the region were subject to many hardships, including intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan, mob violence, beatings, and, on occasion, even death.

The purpose of this thesis is to describe the reorganization of the Southern States Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its influence upon the Catawba Indians of South Carolina.

Not only were the missionaries abused; but Indians and whites who associated with them were also subject to verbal and physical harm. The Catawba Indians befriended the missionaries, embraced their faith and established a branch of the Church on their reservation. As a result of the Catawbas' association with Mormonism, their entire society has been significantly altered in a positive way.

This project offers an opportunity to relate the history of the Catawbas and the Mormons and to fill in several gaps left by previous researchers. More important, perhaps, is the fact that this study, for
the first time, brings the real significance of Mormonism upon the Catawbas to light.

**Literature About the Catawbas**

Some of the earliest written accounts of the Catawbas include H. R. Schoolcraft's *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the U.S.* (1851-1857) and James Mooney's *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (1894). In the 1930s and 1940s, several articles appeared. John Cadwalader's *Catawba Tribal History* (1929-30) was nothing more than an undergraduate paper which relied entirely on secondary materials. James Adair's *The History of the American Indians* (1930) provided some insight into the Catawbas' lifestyle and the population of the tribes. Lewis H. Scaife's *History and Condition of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina* (1930) and Frank G. Speck's "Catawba Kinship and Social Organization . . .," which appeared in the *American Anthropologist* (1942), offer much as far as anthropology and sociology are concerned. In the past decade, two monographs have been written about the Catawbas. Douglas Summers Brown (The *Catawba Indians: The People of the River*, 1966) has compiled the best source book available on this subject, although she devoted less than two pages of it to the Mormons and their relationship to the Catawbas. Charles M. Hudson, (The *Catawba Nation*, 1970), wrote a theoretical sociological and anthropological study of the Catawbas which is questionable in
several areas. He admits that he misrepresented himself to the tribe in an effort to obtain information. Hudson also errs in asserting that the Catawbas joined the LDS Church merely to retain some type of identity as they were quickly being assimilated into the surrounding environment. He feels that Mormonism accomplished this goal and kept distance between the tribe and the townspeople. Records of Church membership simply do not support this thesis (see Appendix 1).

Although many accounts have been written about the Catawbas, writers have failed to include information concerning the Mormon Church and its relationship with the Indians. This failure is understandable because most primary sources are located in the LDS Church Historian's Archives in Salt Lake City, and most historians have failed to note the significance of the Mormon influence or have attempted to play down its importance because of various reasons.

**Research Design**

Although secondary sources were relied on heavily for background materials, the material for this thesis is drawn from primary materials which were uncovered during the research for this project. The significance of these documents is that they make it possible for the history to be written. These materials fill in many gaps which have been left in earlier works. They provide significant insight into Catawba history. These sources, which include personal interviews, correspondence, memos, newspapers, government documents, diaries,
branch records, oral histories, and periodicals, were found in the
archives of South Carolina, in the BYU Library, in the Church Archives
in Salt Lake City, and in the University of Florida's oral history project.

Delimitations

The primary focus of this study is limited to the reorganization
of the Southern States Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-
day Saints in 1875 and the relationship and influence of this mission to
the Catawba Indian Nation up to 1975. The area involved is South
Carolina in general and York County in particular.

Statement of Organization of the
Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter 2 deals with the background of the Catawbas prior to
their contact with the Mormons. An analysis of the anthropological,
historical, and social studies pertaining to the Catawbas is presented,
including their prehistoric origins, historical developments, social
developments, and first contacts with the Mormons and how these
contacts changed Catawba society.

Chapters 3 and 4 present a brief summary of the origin of
Mormonism, with emphasis on the Book of Mormon and Indians, which
includes the Indian missions, as well as the development of the
Southern States Mission and early conversions to Mormonism. These
chapters also discuss the development of the Mormon Church within the
Catawba tribe, including the role of the missionaries and the attitude
of the gentiles in York County. This includes reference to the polygamy problem which resulted in mob violence. The concept of the "Gathering" to Zion is also discussed in these chapters.

Chapter 5 outlines the impact of the educational programs of the LDS Church on the Catawbas, the role of the Church in constructing chapels, and the role of Chief Sam Blue, a prominent chief of the tribe.

In Chapter 6 the strange relationship which existed between the Catawbas, the Federal Government, and the State of South Carolina is discussed along the lines of federal recognition, termination, and re-recognition attempts after the formulation of a new tribal government. In the last chapter the writer's conclusions are given. These conclusions discuss in detail the lasting influence of the Mormon Church on the society of the Catawbas.
CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION TO THE CATAWBA
INDIAN NATION

Eight miles southeast of the city of Rock Hill, South Carolina, the remnant of the Catawba Indian tribe resides on a tiny reservation of 630 acres. Of the thirty tribes or bands of Indians known to have resided in South Carolina, only remnants of one have survived. The Catawbas, like the lands they once possessed, have dwindled away until only a few remain. Although the Catawbas were once a great and powerful nation which played an important part in colonial history, no definite attempt was ever made in early times to record their history or to note their contributions to the peaceful white settlement of their lands.\(^2\)

\(^1\)John L. Choate, South Carolina State Staff Attorney, to Gilbert Blue, Columbia, March 24, 1975, Personal Files of Gilbert Blue, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Origin

The origin of the Catawbas has not yet been conclusively defined. Mooney, writing in 1895 and basing his observations on linguistic evidence, concluded that the Catawba Indians of South Carolina are an eastern branch of the Siouan stock which probably originated in the Allegheny foothills and the upper Ohio Valley, whence the present Siouan tribes emigrated. Evidence shows that the tribes in the East settled in this area long before the Western tribes had attained their present home. 3

Much subsequent anthropological and archaeological research on the Catawbas, such as the work of John R. Swanton and Frank G. Speck, relied rather heavily on Mooney while differing in certain details. Alfred L. Kroeber, a later researcher and noted anthropologist, located the ancestors of the Catawbas in the South Atlantic Slope area, a region that includes most of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. 4 Brown, writing in 1966, gave very detailed insights into the


prehistory of the tribe, but concluded that the final judgment on their origin must be deferred. ⁵

Charles M. Hudson's dissertation, written under the direction of the University of Georgia Sociology and Anthropology Department, concluded that the Catawbas of the early eighteenth century were culturally affiliated with the Cherokees and that some of the Catawbas may have spoken a dialect of that people. ⁶ Another interesting, but undocumented, concept of the origin of the Catawbas was written in 1842-44 by Philip E. Pearson. According to this account, the Catawbas were a Canadian tribe with many enemies which fled southward to the Ohio Valley. They soon fought the Cherokees at Old Nation Ford for possession of that region. In the ensuing battle the Cherokees lost 1,100 men and the Catawbas lost 1,000. The next day the Cherokees made peace and agreed to let the Catawbas remain in that general area. ⁷ It is this account that modern-day Catawbas relate when asked about their origin.

The Catawbas, according to all known records, have always occupied the Piedmont region of the Carolinas near the border of the


⁶Hudson, Catawba Nation, p. 28.

two present states. It is very possible that the Catawbas were the Guachule found in the region by De Soto about the middle of the sixteenth century. In any event, the first definite reference to them is by Vandera in 1579, who refers to them as Issa in writing of the 1567 expedition of Pardo, a Spanish captain. The next reference is by Lederer, in 1670, who called them the Ushery. He wrote that they lived on one side of a great lake, but since there is no lake in this area, he must have seen the river in time of flood.

**Historical Developments**

In 1701, Lawson referred to the Catawbas as a powerful nation. He spoke of the Esaw and Kadapau as two distinct tribes, unaware that both are synonyms for the same tribe. Next to the Cherokees, the Catawbas were the most powerful tribe in the Carolinas. In 1736 they were named among the four great tribes of the Southeast. In the correspondence relating to the dispute between South Carolina and Georgia in 1736-37 the following statement was made:

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8Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East*, p. 70.


That at the time of the Settlement of the Colony of Georgia, and at this Time, vast Tracts of Land are inhabited and possessed by great Tribes of Indians, the most considerable of which are distinguished by the Names of Cherokees, Creeks, Chickesaws and Catawbas . . . [who] at the time of the Discovery of this Part of America, were the Inhabitants of the Lands they now possess, and have ever since been deemed and esteemed the Friends and Allies of his Majesty's English Subjects. . . . They have been treated with as allies but not as Subjects of the Crown. . . . They have maintained their own Possessions, and preserved their Independency; Nor does it appear . . . that they have by Conquest lost, or by Cession, Compact or otherwise, yielded up or parted with those Rights to which by the Laws of Nature and Nations they were and are entitled. 12

In 1728 the Catawbas had six villages, and as late as 1776, after their ranks had been decimated by war and smallpox, they still had one field under cultivation which extended for seven miles. 13 The Catawba Nation consisted of twenty-two tribes as early as 1743. 14

See Appendix 2 for a list of these tribes.

Adair says that smallpox and intemperance contributed more than war to their decrease. 15 To what extent this is true is virtually


13 Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East, p. 73.

14 Brown, Catawba Indians: The People of the River, p. 3.

impossible to prove, but there is no doubt that the Catawbas were a "warring" nation and were in constant conflict with the Iroquois, the Shawano, the Delaware, and other tribes of the Ohio Valley, as well as the Cherokee. 16

With respect to disease among the Catawbas, there were three main smallpox epidemics. In 1738, smallpox raged in South Carolina, working great destruction among the whites as well as the Catawbas and smaller tribes. In 1759 it appeared again and consumed nearly half of the tribe. The final outbreak of the disease came about the time of the beginning of the Revolutionary War, in consequence of which the Catawbas invited the Cheraw still living in the settlements to join them. 17

Social Developments

The Catawba Indians are an extraordinary example of faithfulness and devotion to the American people, but history shows that they have never received equal justice. As Lewis Scaife has said,

This people, which once made the woods of Carolina ring with the warwhoop as they went forth against the enemies of the early settlers, have been allowed to dwindle away unnoticed, until now the fact of the existence of an Indian in South Carolina is perhaps, not generally known. 18

16Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East, p. 72. 17Ibid.
18Lewis H. Scaife, History and Condition of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, S. Doc. 92, 71st Cong., 2d sess., 1930, p. 3.
Recent historians of South Carolina fail to mention that descendants of the earliest-known inhabitants of that state still reside within the borders, and school children are left in ignorance of this interesting fact. Of the twenty-eight tribes that once inhabited South Carolina, only the Catawbas remain.

Except for a brief alliance with hostile Yamasi Indians in 1715, the Catawbas have always been on friendly terms with the English and, after the Revolution, with the Americans. King Haglers' talk of 1754 emphasized the friendliness of the Catawbas toward the British. In the French and Indian War, Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia made an appeal to them for aid, to which they promptly agreed, but they were dissuaded by Governor James Glen of South Carolina for their own good since their numbers had already been severely decreased by war and disease. George Washington, however, then a colonel in the British Army, fearing the French might win their support, made repeated efforts among the Catawbas, and eventually they allied themselves with the British Army.

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21. Ibid., p. 217. A copy of this talk is included in Appendix 3.

22. Ibid., p. 186.

Washington referred more than once in his correspondence to the services they rendered. In 1757, when a serious war between the Cherokee and the colonists seemed likely, the Catawba again came to the aid of the colonists and were largely instrumental in their subsequent victory. 24

**Treaties with British**

As partial payment for the friendship the Catawbas had rendered to the English, they were represented at the Congress of Augusta on November 5, 1763. Colonel Ayres, the appointed chieftan of the Catawbas, said:

His land was spoilt [and that] he had lost a great deal both by scarcity of Buffalos and Deer. . . . [The white men] have spoiled him 100 Miles every way and never paid him [and that] his hunting Lands formerly extended to Pedee [and] Broad River &c but now [he] is driven quite to the Catawba Nation [;] if he could kill any deer he would carry the meat to his Family and the skins to the White People but no Deer are now to be had [and that] he wants 15. miles on each side his Town free from any encroachments of the white People who will not suffer him to cut Trees to build withal but keep all to themselves.

Replying, the royal governors asked the Catawbas if they still agreed to the terms of the treaty providing them a tract of land fifteen miles square, saying,

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If you stand to your former Agreement your Lands shall be immediately surveyed and marked out for your use, but if you do not your claim must be undecided till our Great King's Pleasure is known on the other side of the Waters.26

Chief Ayres was quick to say that the Catawbas were satisfied with the terms of the treaty. Thereupon, he was informed by John Stuart (Superintendent of Indian Affairs) that a new survey would be made "and when the line was run the People settled within should be removed and no new Warrants granted them or any others to settle within those Limits."27 Article Four of the Treaty of Augusta concerned the Catawbas:

And We the Catawba Head Men and Warriors in Confirmation of an Agreement heretofore entered into with the White People declare that we will remain satisfied with the Tract of Land of Fifteen Miles square, a Survey of which by our consent and at our request has been already begun and the respective Governors and Superintendent on their Parts promise and engage that the aforesaid survey shall be completed and that the Catawbas shall not in any respect be molested by any of the King's subjects within the said Lines but shall be indulged in the usual Manner of hunting Elsewhere.28

The tract set aside included 144,000 acres in the present counties of Lancaster, York, and Chester, South Carolina. The survey was made in 1763–64 by Samuel Wyly, who received £ 1,000 for his work. (See Map 1.)

26Ibid.


28Ibid., pp. 201–02.
ILLUSTRATION 1

Map of Catawba Reservation Following the Treaty of Augusta, 1764
**Treaties with South Carolina**

During the Revolution, one hundred Catawba Warriors took part in the defense of Fort Moultrie, as well as in minor battles, in which they were particularly useful as guides and scouts. Many aided in a campaign against hostile Cherokees, and some took part in the battle of Guilford Court House, after which battle the tribe as a whole, which had been forced to flee to Virginia, returned to their homes on the Catawba River.\(^{29}\)

The Catawba lands previously granted by the Treaty of 1764 had increasingly been encroached upon by the same whites they had helped to establish in this country. The Catawbas did not hesitate one moment about approaching such an august body as the state general assembly. Their leaders called on General George Washington and spoke to him for the protection of their rights.\(^{30}\)

It was in 1791 that George Washington conferred with the Catawbas at what is now the city of Lancaster. On May 27 of that year he wrote in his diary:

\(^{29}\)Scaife, *History and Condition of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina*, p. 5.

At Mr. Crawford's I was met by some of the chiefs of the Catawba Nation who seemed under some apprehension [that] some attempts were being made or would be made to deprive them of a part of the 40,000 acres which was secured to them by treaty and which are bounded by this road.

So obvious were the encroachments upon Indian land that in 1782, Congress resolved to recommend to South Carolina to "take measures for the satisfaction and security of the said tribe."

A Congressional resolution the next year recommended that all Indian boundaries be set without regard to state treaties or private purchases. Congress at this time acknowledged British title to the Catawba Nation, referring the conduct of its affairs to the State of South Carolina, recommending that its legislature "take such measures for the satisfaction and security of the said tribe as the said legislature shall, in their wisdom, think fit."

Thus, by washing its hands of the Catawbas, Congress determined that they were legal wards of South Carolina. The United States government--without treaty obligations--shouldered no responsibility for them. This act appears to be highly suspect from a legal point of view and perhaps even unconstitutional because of the distinct status given all Indian tribes (i.e., individual nation status). The power of negotiation or treaty-making was vested in the Congress and

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31 Ibid., p. 11. 32 Ibid., p. 6.

33 Scaife, History and Condition of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, p. 6.
not the state. (Ironically, the Cherokees, who had been bitter foes of the infant Republic while the Catawbas remained its friend, became recipients of the government's special care and generosity.)

The Catawbas were perplexed by the land-hunger of the white man. To a people to whom all land was owned in common, the European concept of real estate values was incomprehensible. They had tilled their small individual fields, but to say that they owned it—as the white man preferred—was foreign to their understanding.

In 1826, Robert Mills, while on a visit to the Nation, wrote:

"These lands are almost all leased out to white settlers, for 99 years, renewable, at the rate of from 15 to $20 per annum for each plantation, of about 300 acres. The annual income [total] . . . is estimated to amount to about $5,000. This sum prudently managed, would suffice to support the whole nation (now composed of about 30 families), comfortably. Yet these wretched Indians live in a state of abject poverty, the consequence of their indolence and dissipated habits. They dun for their rent before it is due, and the 10 or $20 received are frequently spent in a debauch; poverty, beggary, and misery follow, for a year." It has been estimated by others that the highest total rental ever received by the Indians for the 144,000 acres was $2,250 per year.34

The Indians were gradually outnumbered by white men on their own lands, and a majority were becoming almost wholly dependent upon their rents for a livelihood. While a very few Catawbas had become prosperous (owning Negro slaves, living in good houses), most were indolent, mismanaged their incomes, and were dependent on the charity of their tenants. Hutchison wrote:

34Brown, Catawba Indians: The People of the River, pp. 297-98.
During all this time, these Indians were scarcely noticed by the Legislature. They had fought for the country; they had lost their property by the war; had been to Charleston three winters to catch outlying negroes; by which they had contracted both moral and physical pollution, which threatened the total annihilation of the tribe; and yet the State had never thought of this situation. Thousands of public money had been squandered for useless purposes; but nothing appropriated for the benefit of the poor Indian. But though the Indians were neglected, the State was sufficiently wakeful, in regard to those who settled upon their land fifty-eight years ago. No sooner had settlements been made, than the settlers were called upon for tax, which they paid on all their taxable property. They were called upon to do military duty; to serve as Jurors, and to perform all the duties of citizens; but denied the privilege of representation; we could not sit on a jury for the trial of a slave. The District elected a Leaseholder to go to the Legislature. He was sent home, and the District deprived of a representation that session. 35

By 1826, most of this land was leased to white men. In 1839, Governor Noble of South Carolina was authorized to appoint a Commission to negotiate with the tribe for the cession of their land to the State. At the next session of the Legislature, it was reported that "The Catawbas have leased out every foot of land they held in their boundary," and the purchase was recommended of

... a tract of land sufficient for their accommodation in any place they may wish ... secured in such a way that they should not have it in their power to again lease, sell, or parcel it out except it might be the desire of the tribe to remove to some distant place. 36

The Last Treaty was signed in 1840, 37 a treaty between the State, pledging to the tribe five thousand dollars worth of land in return

36 Cadwalader, Catawba Tribal History, p. 6.
37 Brown, Catawba Indians: The People of the River, p. 306. A copy of this treaty is included in Appendix 4.
for what they then owned on the Catawba River. This land contained
three hundred acres of good farm land in some

... mountainous or thinly populated region, where the said
Indians may desire. ... Whereupon the State reserved for them
625 acres of the land they had surrendered, broke the pension
stipulations of the treaty, and ignored the Indians completely. 38

Soon some of the Catawbas, greatly dissatisfied, moved to North
Carolina and tried to settle among those Cherokees left after the
removal of 1839, but they presently returned because of the hatred the
latter still felt for them. 39

It appears that Governor Noble's successors, Governors
Richardson and Hammond, felt that some reparations should be made to
the Indians. In 1848 a move was made, supported by an appropriation
of five thousand dollars by Congress, to move the Catawbas west of
the Mississippi among some congenial tribe, without cost to the govern-
ment, but the Western Cherokees, who were asked to take them in,
refused to do so without compensation, and the matter was dropped. 40

Later, a party of Catawbas moved to the Indian Territory, but they are
said to have died out. 41

38 H. R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information Respect-

39 Cadwalader, *Catawba Tribal History*, p. 7.


41 Ibid.
Attempts to Christianize Catawbas

Christianity, in a loose sense, existed contiguous to and among the Catawbas ever since Lucás de Ayllón led a group of 500 potential colonists and several Dominican friars to the "Northern Floridas" (future South Carolina) in 1526. Fray Luis de Oro, after strengthening the Guale (Georgia) missions in 1612, pushed into Orista (South Carolina) in the following decade. Although missionaries may have been active among the Catawbas prior to 1526, Christianity and missionaries have been present at least since that date. Specifically, in 1717 several Catawba leaders brought children to Fort Christanna of the Virginia Indian Trading Company in Virginia for the purpose of educating them. The Reverend Charles Griffin, an Episcopal minister, was the instructor at the school and taught, in addition to other items, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and prayer responses. The Catawba children did not have time to become acquainted with education because of Indian (Northern Mohawk) attacks and financial problems which forced the school to close in 1719.

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43 Ibid., p. 105.

One early account was given by a Presbyterian minister who had first-hand experience with the Catawbas. Reverend Hugh McAden, when passing through the Catawba Nation in 1755 on his way to serve the Scotch-Irish emigrants, was driven away by the Catawbas and his belongings were rifled when he and his party attempted to stop on the Catawbas' property. 45

According to Brown, from 1750 on, Christian ministers appeared on the frontier and in the Catawba Nation. The Reverend Mr. Richardson, when passing through Catawba lands, was told by his Sapona Guide that "Old Indian make no Sabbath and young Indian make no Sabbath." 46 Richardson talked with the Great King Hagler of the Catawbas. Hagler would not listen to his preaching, "but [he] would [to] other things." The fact that Richardson tried to convert the Catawbas is evidenced by a diary entry which states "I intend to spend some time among the Catawbas." 47 Another attempt made was by the Reverend Mr. Rooker, a clergyman of the Baptist Church, "who settled near their towns, purely with a view of teaching and preaching" about the time of the Revolution. He had no success. 48

The Reverend Michael Budge, a Methodist Minister, erected a crude church for the Catawbas in 1788 but it must have died a natural

48 Ibid., p. 314.
death as nothing more was ever heard of it. In March, 1791, another Methodist minister, the Reverend Thomas Cook, preached to the Catawbas and planned to build a school for the purpose of educating and baptizing them, but the school never materialized. Another school, however, was built by Reverend William Cummings Davis, the first Presbyterian "stated missionary" to the Catawbas in 1804, but it soon failed. The Baptist minister Robert Marsh, who was a Pamunkey Indian, failed to convert any Catawbas at the Hopewell Baptist Church where he preached, and the school established in 1804 under John Rooker as a school and church was discontinued after several years.

These were a few of the unsuccessful attempts by various denominations to Christianize the Catawbas. Almost every major Christian denomination had appropriated money, as well as time and effort, in the attempt to convert the Catawbas. About 1870, Dr. Maurice Moore said he was told by one who preached to the Catawbas that although they all understood the English language, and missionaries of all denominations had faithfully preached the "word" among them, up to that time not one of the Indians even professed conversion or became connected with a Christian church.

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49 Ibid., p. 289. 50 Ibid., p. 287. 51 Ibid., p. 314.

52 Ibid., p. 271.

Contact with the Mormons

The 225 square miles of land which was confirmed to the tribe as a reservation in 1764 has been curtailed to the point that they now are huddled together on 630 acres. In [1881] there were around 120 Catawbas, as compared to 10,000 in 1750. 55 The reservation and the Indians have diminished before the ever-present, land-hungry white man. Since the white man began to settle in South Carolina in 1682, the population of the Catawba Nation has been reduced more than 98 percent. 56 In [1882], when the first Mormon missionaries came into contact with the tribe, the Catawbas existed in a political, economic, social, and religious void. Little did the Indian, or the white man, realize that the events which transpired in that year would catapult the Catawbas from their low state to one of economic, social, political, and religious respectability. The impact of Mormonism upon the Catawbas changed their whole economic, social, and religious structure.

54 Scaife, History and Condition of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, p. 9.

55 Cadwalader, Catawba Tribal History, p. 11.

56 Scaife, History and Condition of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, p. 2.
CHAPTER 3

EARLY MORMON HISTORY

Early Church History

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, more commonly known as "The Mormon Church," came into existence under the direction of Joseph Smith in 1830 in western New York State. A part of this new religion centers around a book which Mormons claim to be as important as the Bible. Mormons assert that this volume, called the Book of Mormon, was given to Joseph Smith by a heavenly messenger named Moroni in 1827. The Book of Mormon accounts for the name "Mormon" given to members of the Church, as well as provides the basis for the Church's special interest in Indians. According to Joseph Smith, this book contains the record of the American Indians coming to this land, a history of their ancestors, and a record of Jesus Christ's visit to them after he left Jerusalem. Regarding this book as the history of


the Lamanites, the Mormons claim to respect the American Indian as brothers and desire "to bring them to a knowledge of their fathers" and remove the "scales of darkness" from their eyes.

The Lamanite Mission

In the fall of 1830, the first extended missionary journey of the Church commenced. Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, Parley P. Pratt, and Ziba Peterson were called to preach the gospel among the Lamanites. They first visited the Catteraugus, located near the city of Buffalo, New York, in October of 1830, and according to Parley P. Pratt, the visit was brief, occupying only one day, but the missionaries proclaimed their message and left two copies of the Book of Mormon with members of the tribe who could read.

In November, 1830, the Lamanite missionaries visited the Wyandot tribe of Indians near Sandusky, Ohio, as well as the Shawnees and Delawares of Missouri. Although this journey was called "the

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3The Book of Mormon (2 Nephi 5:19-25) describes Lamanites as a group of people who rebelled against God and were cursed. A mark of a dark skin was placed upon them to distinguish them from their brothers who remained faithful. In Mormon theology the Lamanites are identified as the Indian cultures of North and South America.

4The Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1968), 2 Nephi 30:5-6. Although there was an 1830 edition and many others thereafter, the 1968 edition was used.


6Ibid., p. 49. 7 Ibid., pp. 49 and 61. 8 Ibid., pp. 56-61.
Lamanite Mission," it was not very successful among the Indians. One reason for lack of success, according to Parley P. Pratt, was that as the Indians began to "rejoice exceedingly" and spread the good news of Mormonism to others, Indian agents, as well as sectarian missionaries, were envious to the point that the Mormons were ordered out of Indian country as disturbers of the peace, and were threatened with military action in case of noncompliance. The greatest success was the establishing of the Church in Ohio and visiting Independence, Missouri, which would later become a temporary center for the Church.

The Journey Westward

Three years after the prophet of the Church, Joseph Smith, was martyred in Nauvoo in 1844, his successor, Brigham Young, led the Saints to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Every precaution was taken to avoid giving offense to the Indians or Indian agents enroute to the Rocky Mountains. Young secured written permission from the Pottawattomies to settle on their lands and to occupy temporarily lands belonging to the Omahas. The Mormons came into contact with various plains Indians, but because of the peaceful attitude of the Saints, most problems were settled without difficulty. After the Saints settled in the

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9Ibid.

10Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 3:142-46.
Salt Lake Valley, they began to have problems with various Indian tribes. Brigham Young recommended a policy of feeding the Indians rather than fighting them:

I have uniformly pursued a friendly course of policy towards them, feeling convinced that independent of the question of exercising humanity towards so degraded and ignorant a race of people, it was manifestly more economical and less expensive, to feed and clothe, than to fight them.\textsuperscript{11}

Although this policy suffered a reversal in 1849-50 which resulted in the Walker War in 1853, Brigham Young continued to express concern for the Lamanites' spiritual and physical needs. This concern resulted in the development of many Indian missions throughout the territory controlled by the Mormons.

\textbf{Western Indian Missions}

The Southern Indian Mission to the Utes and Paiutes was established in the spring of 1854, scarcely seven years after the Saints arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley. Under the direction of Rufus C. Allen, twenty-five Saints surveyed and explored Southern Utah and built Fort Harmony, south of present-day Cedar City.\textsuperscript{12} In 1855 the Las Vegas, Lemhi, and Elk Mountain Indian missions were established. Indian missions were thereafter opened among the Zunis, Hopis, and

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., 4:51.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 5:118.
Navahos. Colonization and conversion of Indians continued until 1887. After 1887, there is little record of preaching among the Indians, due to an increased emphasis on colonization.\(^{13}\)

It should be noted that the Saints did not neglect other non-Mormons in favor of the Lamanites. By 1852, Mormon elders had been "called" to most of the states, as well as to several foreign countries.\(^{14}\) The most productive in terms of converts was England, in which 30,000 Saints lived in the year 1852.\(^{15}\)

Of the many missions opened by the Church, the one directly connected with this study is the Southern States Mission. Of the several states included in this mission, South Carolina is the main point of concentration in this study.

**South Carolina**

As early as 1838-39, only a few years after the "restoration" of the Church, Elder E. M. Murphy had made a few converts in South

\(^{13}\) David Kay Flake, "A History of Mormon Missionary Work with the Hopi, Navaho, and Zuni Indians" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965), p. 79.


While Joseph Smith was incarcerated in the Liberty Jail in Clay County, Missouri (November 1838 to April 1839), Elder E. M. Murray paid him a visit. The prophet told him to go to South Carolina and Georgia to warn his friends of the wrath and destruction impending upon the people in the country and to gather his friends to Zion. He predicted that rebellion and war would break out in South Carolina.  

Smith's prophecy, written in 1832, stated:

> Verily, thus saith the Lord concerning the wars that will shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina, which will eventually terminate in the death and misery of many souls.  

There is no evidence to show whether Elder Murray did or did not go. When Elder Lysander M. Davis, the first Mormon missionary to labor in South Carolina, arrived, he met an Elder E. M. Murphy (possibly the same man that Joseph Smith had spoken with). In a letter written on December 3, 1839, from Union County (South Carolina), Elder Davis stated:

> I have been here something more than a month, and preached in various parts of the district. On my first arrival, I found Bro. E. M. Murphy, with whom you are acquainted and with whom

16 Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1941, pp. 811-12.


18 *Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1968), 87:1.
I have found an asylum till the present time. Here also, I found a few who through the instrumentality of Bro. Murphy, and the use of his books, were believing the gospel. I preached a few discourses, and baptized four persons; many others are believing . . . during the last six months, through as many as eight different states extending from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. He has not at any time left me at night without a place to lay my head, nor without sufficient food to supply the demands of nature. 19

Elder Davis was the only missionary laboring in South Carolina during 1839-40. In a letter of March 30, 1840, he told of baptizing three more converts and made a plea for more elders to come and help him in his work. 20 It was apparent that in 1841, Davis was busy performing his missionary labors, for in a letter dated October 24, 1841, from Union County, he stated:

My principal place of residence, is now in the vicinity of Cross Keys, Union, S. Carolina, and I expect to remain here till spring, and then travel to different parts of the state, delivering to the people the message of salvation as I go. My temporal wants are supplied with the fruits of my own labor, which requires a considerable share of my time. Saturdays, Sundays, and occasionally whole weeks, I devote to the work of the ministry. . . . I have baptized three persons lately, which makes ten, in all, that I have baptized in this state. I expect, however, to baptize more next Sunday; there are numbers here who profess to believe the gospel as it has been revealed to the saints; but for various reasons do not obey it. 21

According to Elder Erastus Snow, in 1841 an unnamed elder baptized eleven souls in Charleston, South Carolina, the first missionary fruits in that area. 22 As a result of a special conference held in

19Times and Season, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1839-46, 1:60.
20Ibid., p. 118. 21Ibid., 3:614.
22Ibid., p. 602.
Nauvoo on August 16, 1841, Abraham O. Smoot was selected to go to Charleston to do missionary work. After nine nights of preaching to large audiences, he failed to make one convert. The only other missionary in South Carolina in 1842-43 was John Eldridge. Eldridge preached in South Carolina on his way from Alabama to North Carolina.

**Political Missions**

In 1844 the Saints nominated Joseph Smith for President of the United States and Sidney Rigdon for Vice-President in a state convention in Nauvoo. Missionaries were assigned to preach the gospel and campaign in the various states. In South Carolina, Alonzo LeBaron was designated to preside over the missionary work, while William D. Lyman, William Smith, John M. Emell, and Ekells Truly were assigned to campaign and preach. All political missions ended after June 27, the date of the assassination of the candidate and prophet of the Church. There is no available record of the actions of the "political missionaries" during the years 1844-45.

**Reorganization of Southern States Mission**

The Southern States Mission was reorganized in 1845 under the direction of President Henry G. Boyle. President Boyle was released in

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24 Ibid., p. 208.
1878, and Elder John Morgan was appointed president of the mission. Elder James Henry Moyle was appointed president over the Carolina district of the mission, still serving under President Morgan. Moyle was anxious to reopen the South Carolina district and asked permission of President Morgan. Morgan was reluctant because of severe anti-Mormon sentiments which existed in that state. Moyle, however, seemed to have a good case for going into South Carolina. It appears that Moyle, while enroute to Wytheville, Virginia, to meet new missionaries assigned to his district, stopped overnight in a small log hotel at Hillsville on the summit of the Blue Ridge Mountains. During the night he claimed he saw a vision of a town in South Carolina with a branch of the Church:

The name was distinct in his mind, but fearing that he might forget it, he arose from bed to write it down. But he could not find a match with which to light the candle, and so he went back to bed, determined to remember the scene.

It was this vision which compelled Elder Moyle to plead for an opportunity to extend the Lord's work into that particular district. Elder Moyle was requested to stay where he was but was permitted to send


27 Ibid.
missionaries into South Carolina "after cautioning them of the dangers they might meet, for the Ku Klux Klan was riding high at the time, and mob feeling was rampant throughout the state." 28

In November, 1881, Elder John M. Easton from Beaver, Utah, and Elder Willard C. Burton, a boyhood friend of Moyle's from Salt Lake City, were chosen to open this area. 29 Moyle told them of his dream. He also told them that he felt sure they would have good results. At first the area showed little promise as the missionaries walked through a hostile atmosphere and "Elder Easton had big holes in his heels from walking." 30 Near Kings Mountain in a village called Yorkville, the pair met a group of Baptists who received them kindly and listened to them bear their testimonies of the truthfulness of their message. Following their testimonies, Edward M. Green and his wife requested baptism and were baptized in the river in January, "after which they walked four miles to their home in wet clothes." When their neighbors were told of the baptism, they also desired it, and the family of John Gordon was baptized that night by the light of torches. 31

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 118.

31 Ibid.
The original Baptist Church with twenty-six members was now defunct. The majority of the members joined the Mormon Church, including the secretary, chorister, and later the deacon. On March 3, 1882, at the home of William Nelson Gordon, former deacon of the Baptist Church, with all of the thirty-one members present, of which twenty were baptized and blessed, the Kings Mountain Branch was organized, and Edward M. Greene, who had been made an elder, was confirmed president of the branch. The simple beginning of this branch which fulfilled Elder Moyle's dream later developed into "one of the largest and strongest branches of the Southern States Mission." So noteworthy was the response that Elder Burton in 1882 baptized or assisted in baptizing twenty-two persons, all in York County. The branch grew rapidly, and Elder W. C. Burton was made president of the South Carolina conference.

The next few months were trying times for the infant branch. People openly harassed the members and sympathizers of Mormonism. On July 16, 1882, the Reverend Mr. White (Baptist Minister) told his

33 Ibid.
34 Hinckley, James Henry Moyle, p. 118.
congregation that "The Mormons ought to be mobbed, law or no law, Gospel or no Gospel." Hostilities sharpened, and on August 21, 1882, an anti-Mormon indignation meeting was held at Whitaker Station, South Carolina. This meeting was advertised in the Shelby Aurora paper, and on the twenty-first, citizens of Cleveland County, North Carolina, and York County, South Carolina, met with B. F. Logan, chairman, and F. H. Diver, secretary. This "citizens' meeting" resolved that because the missionaries from Utah were disturbing the community, they should depart in peace before the indignation of the people became uncontrollable and they did them bodily injury. This committee selected six persons--three from North Carolina and three from South Carolina--to deliver their proclamation.

The paper was presented to elders Burton, Easton, and Bokes a few days later as they were busy preaching the gospel. The elders suspended public meetings for the time being and visited other counties in North and South Carolina during this period. During the next few months, several new missionaries entered the mission field, and several were released.

In November, Elder Bokes was replaced by an Elder from Georgia, Elder Henry Miller, and on December 6, Elder Burton was released to

35 LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, 1881-89, Church Archives, Salt Lake City, July 23, 1882.

36 Ibid., August 21, 1882.
return home and **Elder Angus MacKay** was sent from Whitaker Station to replace him. **MacKay and Easton traveled south to Rock Hill in search of an opening among the people.** There they found lodging with Mr. James Smith of Rock Hill and prepared to preach the gospel.

On April 18, John M. Easton, Angus MacKay, Henry Miller, John Davidson, Charles E. Robinson, and Joseph Willey met in a grove near Nelson Gordons and held a council meeting. From this meeting it was decided that Henry Miller and C. E. Robinson would start in a southeasternly direction looking for openings, and Easton and Davidson would start westward, while MacKay and Willey would remain in the present field of labor. 37

On the nineteenth, **Miller and Robinson** left in a southeasternly direction and apparently visited the Catawba Nation because on June 3 it was recorded that "Elders Miller and Robinson visited the Catawba Indians during the week before they visited Lancaster County and other parts of North Carolina [South Carolina] treated coldly and returned and preached to the Indians." 38 The pair held several meetings with the Catawbas, and on Friday, July 13, 1883, at a conference (a meeting of mission leaders and missionaries) held near Kings Mountain, South Carolina, Elder C. E. Robinson reported an opening among a remnant of the Catawba Indians. Angus McKay was the clerk for the conference; 39

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it is important to note that this conference was the only one of the
season in South Carolina unmarred by threats of violence. Although
this conference was little more than a "camp meeting," President
Morgan spoke to the seven elders present, and the reports of the
conference clearly show the work to be spreading, that more extensive
openings were being made. 40

Elder Miller and his companion, Robinson, returned to the
Catawba Reservation and continued preaching and spreading the gospel
among the members of the tribe. 41

Through the efforts of these two elders, a few of the Catawbas
became interested in the gospel and attended the meetings being held
on the reservation, as well as in surrounding communities. Because
of the threat of mob violence and anti-LDS sentiment, most meetings
were held in secret and usually at night. 42 Elder Robinson became
very sick with chills and fever and on September 26, at 1:50 a.m., he
died in the presence of Joseph Willey, who was trying to comfort him. 43

40 The Southern Star, LDS Southern States Mission, 1898-1900, 2:145.
41 Elder Henry Miller is believed to be the son of President
Henry W. Miller of the Cherokee and Creek Indian Mission in 1855.
(Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of
Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1941), p. 360).
42 LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, August 21, 1882.
43 Ibid.
As a result of the death of Robinson, Elder Willey was appointed to labor with Elder Miller. Joseph Willey had received his "call" from the First Presidency of the Church under President John Taylor to go on a mission to the United States on March 19, 1883. 44 Elder Willey held a meeting on the train that same day, and most of his journey was spent spreading the gospel. He arrived at Whitakers, South Carolina, on April 16, and the following day he walked the seven miles to Brother Gordon's home near Kings Mountain, where he attended the council meeting already described. Shortly after the April 18 meeting, Willey and MacKay preached among the Cherokee Indians of North Carolina. The pair spoke to the Chief, Byrom Jorret Smith, about the Book of Mormon and its relationship to the Cherokees. The chief said a "Mormon" preacher was already among his people and proceeded to point him out to the missionaries. The man was found to be a fraud, "a free lover" and opportunist. 45 The elders told the chief that "... we had a history of their forefathers called the Book of Mormon and left it with him ..." 46 The chief then asked to hear the elders preach, but a council of government officials arrived from Washington, D.C., and the meeting was postponed. The chief asked the missionaries to return the following Sunday. This meeting was also cancelled because of the chief's illness. 47

Prior to Robinson's death, Elder Willey's labors took him to various homes and villages in the South Carolina conference. He held 116 meetings in sixteen counties of North and South Carolina, both before and after laboring among the Catawba.

Elder Willey and Elder Miller preached to the Catawbas on October 14, and, according to journal entries, much interest was manifested by members of the tribe. On October 28 a meeting was held at the Catawba Nation. The elders then traveled ten miles, held a meeting with Indians and whites, and returned to the nation for an evening meeting. Following this meeting, James Patterson, one of the leading Indians, approached the elders and applied for baptism. After talking with Patterson they agreed that the baptism would be performed on November 11. On November 4, following more meetings, four other Indians applied for baptism. They too were to be baptized on November 11 in the Catawba River.

November 11, 1883, proved to be a busy day for the elders, as they performed their ecclesiastical duties in various manners. Five Indian couples were married prior to baptism. Many Indian couples lived together without marriage as man and wife, and one couple had lived together for thirty years prior to being married by the missionaries.

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48 Ibid., p. 188.
49 LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, November 4, 1882.
50 Willey Diary, p. 28.
Elder MacKay performed the marriage ceremonies (this was to be his last official act in the Southern States Mission as he was released to continue his mission in Scotland), after which Elder Joseph Willey performed the baptisms, with Henry Miller assisting, for Mrs. Lucy Wats, James Harvey Wats, Mrs. Mary Jane Wats, James Patterson, and Taylor George. Willey recorded in his journal, "Baptized the first Catawba Lamanite that ever gave obedience to the Gospel in this dispensation." According to the way the names are listed in Willey's journal, it appears that Mrs. Lucy Wats, baptized into The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on November 11, 1883, was the first Catawba baptized. As a result of this event, a branch of the Church was organized. The entire tribe eventually embraced Mormonism, and became "... the only instance among American tribes known to us where conversion to the religion of the white man shifted a whole group from paganism to Christianity in the Mormon path." 

Prior to the treaty of Augusta (1763), the Catawbas had little time for "Christianity" or missionaries, as they were busily engaged in warfare, and were more concerned with self-preservation. The

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51Ibid. 52Ibid. 53Ibid.

Catawbas were very powerful and aggressive, and so feared and hated by other Indians that at one time they were simultaneously at war with eleven different tribes. 55

After the Catawbas settled on the reservation provided for by the treaty of 1763 and up until the time of the Civil War, the missionaries who proselyted among them were also unsuccessful because, according to Adair, they were pernicious, ignorant, stupid, and wicked, and the crowds of disorderly people which infested the Indian country were corrupting rather than converting the savages. 56 Although the first missionaries appear to have had an adverse effect upon the Catawbas, it is doubtful that they all deserve the criticism bestowed on them by Adair.

After the Civil War, until the arrival of the first Mormon missionaries, active proselyting from the various denominations appears to be nil. This could be accounted for possibly because of the impoverished economic and social condition of the remnants of the tribe coupled with the prejudice of non-whites which abounded in South Carolina during and after Reconstruction. In short, the neighboring churches did not want to be bothered with them. Some churches


allowed the Indians to attend, but treated them as inferior beings. A few Catawbas attended a Methodist Church near the reservation, "But they weren't treated well. They had to sit on back seats or stand outside." The white congregation sat up front in the good pews, and the Indians sat on the old chairs or benches, and the negroes sat or stood behind them. The first Catawba converts were attracted to Mormonism because of two major reasons. (First) the Mormons were deeply and sincerely concerned with the Indians' physical, as well as spiritual needs. (Secondly) the missionaries offered the Catawbas the history of their forefathers in the Book of Mormon.

The Mormons were the first Christians who were genuinely interested in the Catawbas' welfare and were willing to meet and treat them as equals. One Catawba related:

My grandparents on both sides were among the first members of the church. My mother had a picture of the first elders to come here, but it is gone now. I don't remember the names of the first elders to come here. They would come here and stay with the people. They would also go out and work with neighboring whites. But they came among the Indians first; there were no Mormon churches in South Carolina at that time. They were the first Christians to come in and try to do anything for the Indians.


58 Ibid.
Brown in her work concluded that

It was this genuine interest and respect that enabled the Mormons to get along with the Catawbas better than other white groups. Telling them that they were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel gave them a place—and a respectable place—among the peoples of the world. 59

When the first Mormons came in contact with the Catawbas, the Indians must have been impressed by the fact that they were not only treated as equals but, because of the Mormon belief in the Book of Mormon, with great esteem. The Catawbas probably felt some compassion for the missionaries who traveled 2500 miles, depended on his labors or charity for physical existence and literally risking his life to share their gospel message with them. The Indians were also impressed with the Elders' ability to heal the sick. Several members of the tribe witnessed remarkable healings among the whites as well as Indians. 60 One of the first converts Mr. James Henry Wats "... was sick in bed [and] he wished us to administer to him and we did so the next day he was able to go to work he said it was a great testimony to him and he demanded baptism." 61

As a result of this "fraternity" which developed between Indian and missionary the Catawba listened to the message the missionaries had to present. As the Indians listened, they became converted to

60 Willey Diary, pp. 20-26.
Mormonism because of the "history of their forefathers" as contained in the Book of Mormon. Chief Sam Blue, born in 1873, stated "They brought a book which is known as the Book of Mormon. This book was [the] direct history of our forefathers which we had no other history [of] before this book came along."  

Herbert Blue, son of Chief Sam Blue, recounted his earliest recollection passed down to him concerning the motivation behind accepting Mormonism "... the missionaries read the Book of Mormon ... the history of the American Indian [and] the Indians believed the story they told them."  

The relationship between the Catawbas and Mormonism which resulted in the establishment of the LDS Church in South Carolina, grew increasingly stronger, until Mormonism became the dominant factor in Catawba society.

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63 Interview with Herbert Blue, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 2, 1976.
CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

AMONG THE CATAWBAS

Continued Conversions and
Branch Organization

Following the baptisms the group of fifteen assembled for the
purpose of organizing the Rock Hill Branch, Henry Miller, "him being
the oldest elder present," was made branch president.\(^1\) Before the end
of the year eight Catawbas had been baptized into the Church.\(^2\) The
first Sunday School the Lamanites ever attended was held at the
reservation on February 24, 1884, at the home of Brother Evans Wats.
The Indians took good interest in the Sunday School, and, as a re-
sult, John Sanyo Canty was baptized.\(^3\) By June 1, 1884, the Rock Hill
Branch records listed thirty-one members, twenty-five of whom were
Indians, with Brother James Patterson presiding.\(^4\)

\(^1\)Willey Diary, p. 28.  \(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 43.  \(^4\)Ibid., p. 29.
Attitude of Gentiles

The Rock Hill Branch members began to receive the same kind of persecution as had the members of the Kings Mountain Branch before them. Mobs began to threaten members and their families, as well as the missionaries. Several missionaries were threatened and verbally abused. On one occasion Elder Willey was confronted by a man with a gun pointed toward him, but no violence took place at that time. A mob soon threatened the elders in a letter, and as a result mission leaders requested that no public meetings be held in the Rock Hill Branch. The elders were forced to hide out in the woods without food and water, existing on whatever members could smuggle to them. Elder Willey reported that he was without food or water for more than thirty hours.

Another result of mob action was that the missionaries moved into other areas of the state, just as had happened previously. On October 13, 1884, Elder Willey and his companion were sent to Columbia (11,000 population at that time) to look for a new opening. A little later Willey returned and was told to take charge of the Rock Hill Branch until notified. Willey had some new help in the persons of W. T. Cragun and W. E. Bingham, two missionaries arriving from Utah Territory.

5Ibid., p. 73. 6Ibid., pp. 82-84. 7Ibid., p. 188.
On November 30, 1884, Joseph Willey preached his farewell sermon at the Rock Hill Branch. The branch was soon disbanded when the twenty-two Catawba members left for Spartanburg County. The move, apparently initiated by the elders, was an attempt to remove the Saints from a hostile environment and at the same time rent some good land for the purpose of farming. Willey's diary shows that on December 4 he tried to rent a plantation for the Saints in Spartanburg County among friendly people.

Evidently the attempt to remove the Catawbas to farm lands did not produce favorable results because, in only a few months, the Indians were back on the reservation. In an attempt to reorganize the branch, Elder Willey, president of the South Carolina conference, and Elder Cragun held sixteen meetings from February 20 to April 11, and "Nearly all [the] lamanites attended." Nine more were baptized, and five children were blessed. Also during this period the elders were concerned with the education, as well as the religious life, of the Catawbas. They wrote petitions to the state for a school and teacher and collected the necessary signatures. As a result, the state hired a schoolteacher and promised to provide the necessary equipment to run a school.

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8Ibid., p. 113.

9LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, April 11, 1885.

10Willey Diary, p. 144.
Mob Violence

The citizens of the surrounding communities approved of the Indians obtaining education and religion, but they rejected the particular type of "religion" they were gaining. A group of local residents formalized a petition with seventy signatures telling the Mormon elders to leave "because they were preaching and practicing polygamy." A group of eight men gave the paper to Elder W. G. Cragun and F. A. Fraughton on May 26, 1885, and although Cragun and Fraughton claimed these charges were false, the men would not listen and left.11

On May 25, 1885, according to Catawba Branch records, and on June 6, according to Willey, elders Cragun and Fraughton, while visiting the Catawbas, were mobbed by twenty-three men. Cragun made his escape, but in the volley of shots fired at him he received three pellets in the chin. Fraughton was caught, stripped of his clothing, and whipped with hickories.12 The next day, May 26, 1885, the elders left the reservation because the mob threatened "to put to death any of the Elders that return."13 The brief record of this event, as recorded by the Kings Mountain Branch, gives considerable insight

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11LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, May 26, 1885.

12Ibid., May 31, 1885.

13LDS Church Records, Catawba Nation Branch Records, May 26, 1885, Church Archives.
into the hazards of mobocracy and lawlessness that prevailed: "Cragun shot three times in chin. Fraughton received 40 lashes—baptized 2 while there." 14

A meeting was appointed for the following Sunday at Kings Mountain, "but owing to excitement, it was postponed." 15 Meanwhile, the elders cautiously returned to the Indian nation during the months of persecution and were holding secret meetings by night and continuing their preaching and baptizing. The elders were forced to hide in the woods during the day, reading their scriptures and planning the next meetings. It was at this time that the Catawbas made a stand to protect "their elders." Armed men stood guard as they held their meetings, and bodyguards were provided to deter the actions of hostile mobs against one or two unarmed and defenseless elders. 16 Word was put out that the elders were welcome on the reservation and that unruly crowds or mobs were trespassing.

Elder [W. E. Bingham] was called to succeed Joseph Willey as president of the South Carolina conference on July 6, 1885, when Willey

14LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, May 31, 1885.

15Ibid.

16Interview with Herbert Blue, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 2, 1976.
was honorably released to return to his home in Bountiful, Utah. 17

Bingham and Cragun, under the protection of the Catawbas, organized the Catawba Nation Branch on August 2, 1885. "There were about 50 present and an excellent spirit prevailed—Bro. Alonzo Canty was called as President of the Branch—unanimously sustained by vote of the Saints, 18 and was ordained a priest by elders Bingham and Cragun. A Sunday School was organized on the same day. Apparently, the members who organized the branch attended Sunday School, as fifty were present at Sunday School when six members were appointed teachers and classes were formed. The Catawba Nation Branch, according to all available records, was the first Indian Branch of the Church to be staffed entirely by Indians. It is also the oldest Indian branch in the Church and the oldest branch in South Carolina. 19

In December, 1885, the Catawba Nation Branch had a new president appointed to take the place of Alonzo Canty, who was called on a mission to the Cherokee Indian Nation in North Carolina. John

17LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, July 6, 1885.

18LDS Church Records, Historical Record Catawba Branch Minutes, August 2, 1885, p. 1.

19Several Indian branches had been established prior to 1885 by the Church, but they failed for various reasons. The Washakie Ward was established in 1877, but was conducted by whites. It closed in 1965 (Washakie Ward Records 1880-1965, p. 10, Church Historian's Office).
Sanders was selected as president of the branch and was ordained to the office of Priest on Sunday, December 13, by Elder Cragun and Elder John Gordon, who came from the Kings Mountain Branch.

It appeared to be a tactical move on the part of the Mormons to send an Indian missionary among Indians. Although this procedure later was to be adopted by the Church in the Southwest, in this early case it apparently created no positive results other than enabling Elder Canty to speak to the Cherokees, bear his testimony, and leave copies of the Book of Mormon. Canty's mission did not last very long, for he was again presiding at the Catawba Nation Branch on June 13, 1886.  

Elders John Gordon and W. E. Bingham, who came from Kings Mountain for the December 13 meeting, were forced to leave on December 15 "to escape the mob which had made threats." The members of the Kings Mountain Branch began to be harassed once again. Brother Hartness was threatened with his life if he did not give up "Mormonism." Mobocracy ran rampant in York County for the next few years. A group of between seventy-five and one hundred men mobbed Elder Richie Hartness at his home in York County, stripping him and giving him twenty lashes, along with a threat that unless he moved

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20 LDS Church Records, Catawba Nation Branch Records, December 13, 1885, Church Archives.

21 Ibid.
from York County in ten days the same would be done to his family. Because of the threats to their family, the Hartnesses left York County and moved to Alabama. 22 This same mob visited John Gordon's home, but did not find him. They left word for him to leave the county in ten days or suffer the consequences. Gordon and his family moved to Cleveland County, North Carolina, 23 but evidently they did not stay very long in North Carolina because there is a record of a meeting held at his home in York County on March 18, 1888.

The charges of preaching and practicing polygamy made against the Mormons were unwarranted. Although polygamy was an important principle of the LDS Church and highly sanctioned by it, polygamy was not taught nor practiced in South Carolina, after the Southern States Mission was reorganized in 1875.

By 1875 polygamy was a federal offense in the United States, and offenders were subject to heavy fines and/or imprisonment. The states of Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi passed laws which made the preaching or teaching of polygamous doctrines a crime. Missionaries were instructed to obey the laws of the land, which

22LDS Church Records, Kings Mountain Branch Minutes, July 19, 1887.

23Ibid.
included state and federal laws, as well as refrain from discussing polygamy. Several authors writing about the Catawba Tribe erroneously connected them with polygamy because they belonged to the LDS Church. In his book *Catawba Kinship Studies*, Dr. Frank Speck wrote: "We know furthermore, that after 1890, the Catawba had accepted Mormonism and were practicing a continuation of their earlier polygamy." Speck could not have been more wrong. He based his conclusions on the fact that one of the girls, Margaret Brown, while helping Speck in his kinship studies, "in recording the [kinship] terms from her dictation [I found] that she was thinking of them [her kin] in the real social sense of living connections in the community about her and not in her terms of a linguistic tradition." What Speck did not consider was that most of the Catawbas were kin. Intermarriage had reached a point of saturation in the tribe. Before long, Catawbas were forced to marry outside the tribe to prevent incest.


Dr. Scaife made a case for polygamy based on the comment made by Uncle Billy George to him that "We can't have but one wife, and that ain't right." 26 Careful examination of the early records of the Catawbas (i.e., Church and genealogical records, census reports, diaries, and journals) reveals that polygamy was never practiced.

The Catawba Nation Branch continued its struggle. There were periods when the missionaries would have to go away for a few weeks or a month and the meetings would not be held "because at the appointed time to start no one showed up." 27 Attendance during the first two years (1885-86) was very unpredictable and, in fact, did not become predictable until about the turn of the century. By 1900 there were approximately 125 members of the Catawba Nation Branch, including approximately 100 baptized (over eight years of age) and 25 or 30 children that had been blessed. By 1912 there were 166 baptized members of the branch, along with 43 children which had been blessed. Of the number, only a handful were non-Indians.


27 LDS Church Records, Catawba Nation Branch Records, 1885-86, Church Archives.
Gathering to Zion

One of the major factors which concerned the Catawba as a tribe, and as a Branch of the Church, was emigration to Zion. Even before the Saints arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, they preached the doctrine of the "Gathering." The gathering was simply a call for all Saints to join together and help build up the kingdom of God on earth. With the aid of the Perpetual Emigration Fund, the Mormon population of Utah Territory soared from some 1670 persons in the mid-winter of 1848 to approximately 20,000 persons in 1852. By 1899 the Church rescinded the gathering concept and advised the Saints to stay where they were as it was no longer feasible for converts to gather to Zion (Utah), although some leaders were still preaching the "gathering" concept as late as 1920.

The first Catawbas emigrated to Zion in 1884. Scaife did not give any figures but said that "A few families went to Utah after joining the Mormon Church." According to the Elders Journal, of the seventy-six Catawbas on the reservation, thirty-eight of them


29 Scaife, History and Condition of the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, p. 9.
went West. It would be virtually impossible to state with any degree of accuracy the actual number of Catawbas that emigrated.

President Morgan corresponded with the Church leaders in Salt Lake City in 1885 concerning the resettlement of the Catawbas. He felt that if this affair were handled properly it "would greatly influence about 1200 of the Cherokees between whom and the Catawbas there existed an intimate friendship." The Brethren hesitated sending them "to the high cold Valley of Colorado" and decided they should contact the presidency of the Arizona Stake for consultation. 31

President Morgan was intent on following up his plans, for he recorded that "At the coming session of the Legislature [S.C.] we shall endeavor to secure an act empowering them to sell their lands with a view of gathering them out to the appointed gathering place and we trust we shall be successful in so doing." 32

Evidently this petition failed because it was not until 1897 in a meeting of the First Presidency of the Church that the subject of the removal of the Catawba Indians was considered. The Church officials wished "to learn what inducements could be offered for the removal of


32Ibid., pp. 418-19.
those Indians to Mexico, as it was decided that the climate would be
suitable and they would be free there from race prejudices.33 It is
known that Catawbas emigrated to Colorado, as well as to Utah.
Brown reported that Catawbas emigrated to Cedar City, Utah, but a
careful study of the census records of Iron County and personal
investigation indicates that this information is incorrect.34

The February, 1961, Final Termination Roll of the Catawba
Indian Tribe of South Carolina, lists 631 names. Of that number, 14
Catawbas were living in Salt Lake City and 5 in Colorado, with the
majority of the remainder residing in the Carolinas, most being in
South Carolina and in York County.35 Although the gathering concept
died, individual members and whole families occasionally moved to
Utah for the purpose of "raising their children in a more wholesome
atmosphere" or to escape the "racial" prejudice of the South (against
Indians and Mormons). As late as 1956, William Watts was released
from the branch presidency, and he and his whole family moved to Salt

33Andrew Jenson, comp., Journal History, 1830-
Thursday, March 11, 1897.

34LDS Church Records, Cedar City Ward Records, 1900,
Church Archives.

35U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Notice of Final Membership
Lake City. The most serious result of the process of gathering, or removal, was that of draining many of the most active members of the Catawba Branch and the Catawba Tribe. In most instances those who went to Utah fared very well as compared with those who remained in South Carolina.

By the time the Church had been among the Catawbas for a few years, their lives had been influenced greatly by it. The tribe had not only adopted Mormonism as its religion, but, in the process, it had overcome severe problems of violence and prejudice from the surrounding white community. Although the Catawbas rapidly gained converts from their own people to replace those that went to Utah, the Church organization was not as stable as it could be, and the Catawbas were to face opposition from a new direction in the twentieth century.

36 I bid.
CHAPTER 5

THE CATAWBAS AND THE CHURCH IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

Education

Education has always been an important principle of Mormonism. The missionaries attempted to educate the Catawba Indians, in addition to offering them spiritual training. Shortly after establishing a branch, the elders began to educate the children of the tribe.

In March, 1888, "Elders Johnson and A. L. Clark met with the children of the Catawba Nation to teach them their letters and how to read."¹ A month later they met with them again and decided to keep teaching them as long as their mission lasted. In May the elders began meeting twice a week to hold school, "but many [Indian children] failed to come out as they were kept busy by their parents."² In September of that year, the Sunday School began meeting in "the little log schoolhouse."³ It is interesting to note that in the warm months the

¹LDS Church Records, Catawba Nation Branch Records, March 21, 1888, LDS Church Archives.
²Ibid., May 29, 1888. ³Ibid., September 30, 1888.
meetings were held outside in the arbor branches (clearing in trees). In colder weather, the Church met inside (schoolhouse, houses or Church).

The branch did not meet consistently for the next few years. Elders Joseph W. Parker and James Hietle, when visiting the branch in 1895, said that "the Saints had fallen asleep to some extent"; this was evidenced by poor attendance at their meetings, which the elders attempted to correct. 4

Elders Parker and Gordon using Indian labor, erected a meeting house in 1897. 5 The Church was originally a twenty-four- by sixteen-foot log building located about a mile below the present chapel. With the exception of 1897-98, the school was taught by Mormon missionaries. During 1897-98, the Presbyterians negotiated with Jim Harris, one of the head men of the tribe, for the employment of Mrs. Eli Dunlap as teacher. It was during this time that the tribe appropriated $150.00 to build a small schoolhouse. 6

Mrs. Dunlap's attempt to influence the Catawbas against Mormonism was in vain. Mrs. Dunlap wrote: "Since the school was opened they [the Mormon elders] have been so persistent and pushing, 7

4Ibid., May 30, 1895. 5Ibid., September, 1897.

I had to stand my ground firmly to make them know their place and . . . if the school is closed it will be due to their pernicious influence." 7

Mrs. Dunlap's outspoken nature and obvious prejudice against Mormonism were not tolerated by the headmen of the tribe, and she was forced off of the reservation. 8

What little education the Catawbas did receive was provided by the missionaries on a part-time basis. Their religious education was provided by the Church, which offered "a well organized Sunday School under the direction of Elder Samuel T. Blue and assisted by Brother John Brown." 9 An elder, Ben Harris, was branch president at this time. No educational facilities were available other than the rudimentary classes taught by the missionaries.

In 1908 the First Presidency of the Church received a letter from Ben E. Rich, president of the Southern States Mission, describing the Catawbas as "living on 640 acres of land . . . receiving a yearly allowance of $3,200 from the State . . . 85% members of the Church and the rest believers." President Rich suggested that perhaps a man and wife could be called to labor among these people as missionaries

7Ibid., p. 344.  8Ibid., p. 345.

9LDS Church Records, Catawba Nation Branch Records, June 7, 1913, Church Archives.
and to conduct a day as well as a Sunday School. This letter was referred to President Frances M. Lyman of the Council of the Twelve by the First Presidency, and positive action was taken on the matter, when the husband-wife team, a Brother and Sister Orlando Barrus, were called to labor with the Catawbas. Barrus recalls arriving at the branch after dark, being driven in by buggy by Sam Blue from Rock Hill. He and his wife and five children spent the first two weeks in one room at the home of Brother Brown while the Indians built a home for them.

Since Barrus was sent by the Church, he would not agree to take the money offered him for teaching, although he accepted $100 (tribal money) for desks and $40 for paint to repaint the schoolhouse in which he operated a "day and a night school." He also officiated in Church meetings, which resulted in increased membership. He also supervised the members in building a mission house opposite the Church. The Church furnished $200 cash for the lumber, and the members furnished the labor. Barrus referred to his students as "intelligent and bright." He also was concerned with their civil rights and "put a proposition on foot to make Indians citizens and getting allotments--very likely this will be done in the near future."  

10 Jenson, Journal History (First Presidency Meeting Minutes), July 29, 1908.  
11 LDS Church Records, Catawba Nation Branch Records, December 18, 1909.  
12 Ibid. Barrus was idealistic, for this did not come to pass until the 1940s.
Barrus also was instrumental in having the first well dug on the reservation. After much hard work on the part of the members and with the help of seventy-five sticks of dynamite, they were able to sink a twenty-five-foot well which is still used.\footnote{13} Previously, water had to be carried daily from the river, which was over a half mile away. Barrus stayed and taught at the reservation until 1911, when he and his family returned to Utah.

Education was to be provided for the next quarter of a century by missionaries especially called for the purpose of teaching school on the Catawba reservation. These missionaries, like their predecessors, received no pay or special privileges. There are no records of teachers between 1911 and 1920, but in the latter years Elder H. W. Bauer received an appointment to teach at the Indian School for twenty-nine months. Teachers following Bauer included elders L. W. Johnson (1923–24), J. C. Davis (approximately 1925–35), and Willard M. Hayes (1935–42).\footnote{14} After 1943 the Bureau of Indian Affairs operated the new school which was built on the reservation when the tribe received federal recognition.

\footnote{13}{Ibid.}

\footnote{14}{Letter from Willard M. Hayes to author, March 27, 1975.}
Expansion and Growth

The Church and the Catawbas continued to grow and prosper during the next few years with little outside interference. In 1911 the chapel was found to be too small and was enlarged by twelve feet. The tribe now possessed a schoolhouse, a chapel, and a well. With the help of Sister Barrus, the Relief Society was organized on March 7, 1910, with sisters Mary C. Barrus, Mary J. Watts, and Eliza Blue as the presidency, and Sister Lucy George as secretary. The Sunday School was operating very smoothly with upwards of sixty pupils and an efficient teaching core under the able direction of Elder Sam Blue, assisted by John Brown and John Sanyo Canty. Elder Robert Harris presided over the branch.

The Indians served another mission to their Lamanite brothers in 1916-17. Elders Sam T. Blue and Ben P. Harris taught the gospel to a tribe of Pembroke Indians in North Carolina:

Elder Samuel T. Blue, one of the Lamanite brethren, and president of the Catawba Indian Nation branch, in a letter to President Callis says: "On Friday, the 9th, Brother Ben P. Harris and I went to Pembroke to visit the Indians in that place. We had a nice time there. We had several Gospel conversations and we left all of our literature with them, also a Book of Mormon. They seem to think a great deal of us." 16

15LDS Church Records, Catawba Nation Branch Records, March, 1910.

However, it does not appear that any converts were made as a result of this mission.

Further evidence of the rapid growth of the branch was the organization of the Mutual Improvement Association in 1925, and a new chapel which was built in 1928. By 1936 the Primary was fully organized and the branch appeared to be in excellent condition.

Positive Reaction

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Church and the Catawbas began to attract favorable attention. An Atlanta, Georgia, newspaper published an interview with the head men of the Catawba Nation (Blue and Harris) which discussed the "Articles of Faith" and mentioned the fact that most of the Catawbas were members of the Mormon Church and that they owned their own chapel.  

Mr. and Mrs. Anderson of Charlotte, North Carolina (twenty-five miles from the reservation), heard of the progress made by these Indians and traveled to the reservation to see the effects of Mormonism on them. As a result, the couple became interested in the Church.  

A daily Columbia newspaper became concerned over the attacks made on the Church by Reverend J. E. Mahaffey of Clinton, South Carolina. In an effort to prejudice the people of South Carolina against the Book of Mormon, he published critical articles in the local paper. In an

\[17\text{Ibid., Vol. 23:40.} \quad 18\text{Ibid., Vol. 27:88.}\]
attempt to show fair play, the newspaper offered to publish articles answering his misrepresentations. "His attempts to defame us are only promoting our work in this state," wrote elders of the Church.  

As a result of the publicity received by the Catawbas, various religious denominations attempted to free them from their belief in Mormonism. Again their efforts failed as Mormonism was deeply entrenched in the Catawbas. As many as 95 percent were members, and the rest were unbaptized believers. Finding no success, the sectarians turned to economic and educational sanctions. According to J. C. Davis,

In the meeting a minister proposed that if they would give up their religion and join the Presbyterian Church, he would have a school built for them in which to educate their children. One of the Catawba mothers arose, holding her baby in her arms, and said, "Before I will give up my religion, I will suffer my children to grow up in ignorance."  

This statement, originally made by Mrs. Martha Sanders in 1934, has been repeated at various other times since then.

**Chief Blue**

A similar experience was reported by Chief Samuel T. Blue, president of the Catawba Branch. Blue was approached by two men of considerable stature in the community of Rock Hill, as well as in their

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19 Ibid., Vol. 28:281.

20 Ibid., Vol. 32:33.
own religion. One of them offered Chief Blue a thousand dollars if he would quit the Mormon Church. Blue, chief of the Catawba Tribe and spiritual leader for forty years, replied: "Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, and Judas betrayed the Savior for thirty pieces of silver, but I would not give up my religion for anything in the world." 

This same Samuel Taylor Blue was, for many years, the stalwart of the tribe in the leadership capacity of chief and as religious leader. Born on the old reservation on August 15, 1873, he was the son of Margaret G. Brown, a Catawba, and Sam Blue, a white farmer and grist mill operator. He was baptized on October 25, 1886, by M. D. Ferrin. Young Sam spent his entire life on the reservation with one short exception, when he worked away from the reservation for three dollars a month after his marriage. Upon his return to the reservation he supported his family (twenty-three children by two wives) by cutting cord wood for twenty-five cents a cord.

Although Chief Blue never attended school a day in his life, he was able to function effectively as leader of the tribe. He committed to memory much of the standard works of the Church (Bible, Book of Mormon, Pearl of Great Price, and Doctrine and Covenants). This was accomplished by having his children and grandchildren read important passages to him again and again. As a result of his memorization, he

21 Ibid.
was an outstanding Church speaker and would occasionally correct other speakers from his seat in the audience.

His personality attracted many admirers, including local businessmen, members of the South Carolina Legislature, and even government officials in Washington, D.C. On several occasions he presented his grievances on behalf of the tribe in the halls of the South Carolina Legislature and won the friendship and admiration of the law-makers. Besides serving as official Chief of the tribe for eleven years, he was unofficially the power behind the chief when he did not hold that office (see Table 1 for a list of Catawba Tribal Chiefs).

**TABLE 1**

**CHIEFS OF THE CATAWBA NATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William George</td>
<td>1877-1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Morrison</td>
<td>1886-1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Harris, Jr.</td>
<td>1894-1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert (Bob) Harris</td>
<td>1895-1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Harris</td>
<td>1905-1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David A. Harris</td>
<td>1906-1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brown</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Harris (father of Robert Lee Harris)</td>
<td>1928-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel T. Blue (father of Nelson Blue)</td>
<td>1931-1938, 1941-1943; 1956-1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lee Harris</td>
<td>1939-1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ervin Gordon</td>
<td>1940 (few months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Harris</td>
<td>1944-1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond Harris</td>
<td>1946-1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson Blue</td>
<td>1950-1952, 1958 (few months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephraim D. George</td>
<td>1952-1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Idle Sanders</td>
<td>1954-1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert H. Sanders (acting chief and then chief)</td>
<td>1958-1962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He recalled,

I was President in the Catawba branch for forty years. Mean-
time I was chief of the tribe twenty years. I was elected chief by
evotes; I didn't inherit it. I had an uncle who was chief; his name
was John Scott. . . . During my period we was under the State,
wards of S.C. Now [1955] we are under the federal government, and
we aren't treated near as good as we were when we was under the
wards of the state. . . . My wife's father was a full blood Catawba
Indian. Her father was George Canty. I have one son living by my
first wife, and eight by my second wife. We have 119 grand-
children and great grandchildren.22

In April, 1950, Chief Blue fulfilled a lifetime dream when he
traveled to Salt Lake City, Utah, and received his temple endowments
in the Salt Lake Temple. While he was in Salt Lake City, he attended
the general conference of the Church and President David O. McKay,
who conducted the Sunday session, said that Chief Blue had been in
the Church for sixty years and called him to speak. He gave a short
but impressive testimony of the gospel and informed the group that
ninety-seven percent of the Catawba Indians were members of The
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.23

Chief Blue always had high expectations for the children of the
branch and constantly encouraged them to obtain an education and to
become spiritually strong. Although never a man of means, Chief Blue,

22 Ibid., pp. 349-50.

23 George Albert Smith, "A Mission Field Experience," The
until the time of his death in 1959, kept his tradition of presenting a silver dollar to any child who memorized the Church's Articles of Faith. Throughout his life he was an ardent and staunch supporter of his faith, and he was one of the principal reasons for the success and growth of the Church among his tribe.

Continual Growth

In the late 1940s and early 1950s a few white families from Rock Hill started attending the Catawba Branch, since the Rock Hill Branch had failed. The branch continued to grow. In 1952 a chapel was built on the reservation on lands given by the tribe in trust to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (this land amounted to 100 acres for the Church in the center of the reservation, as well as 25 additional acres for an already existing cemetery). This neat, spacious chapel was built by the members of the branch and partly financed by fund-raising drives.

The excitement and pride of the members of the branch over their achievement was even further accented when on April 5, 1952, David O.

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24 Interview with Herbert Blue, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 2, 1976.

25 LDS Church headquarters in Salt Lake City contributed about 70 percent of the cost, which is a normal procedure of the Church. (Tithing money in the Church is used for various purposes—building and maintenance of chapels is one of them.)
McKay, president of the Church, traveled to the Southern States Mission and personally dedicated the chapel. The branch continued to grow and prosper and many white people from Rock Hill joined the Church. Within the next few years a branch of the Church was organized in Rock Hill with Arthur C. Whitesell, Jr., as branch president. After meeting for several years in homes of various members and in empty buildings, the Church purchased a chapel on the main street of Rock Hill which still serves as a meetinghouse. Several Indian families living in and around Rock Hill attended Church in Rock Hill rather than making the drive back to the reservation. In 1963 the Catawba Branch was transferred to the South Carolina West Stake, and it was officially organized into a ward in September, 1967. Donald G. Williams, a non-Indian who was married to a Catawba and who was serving as branch president, was selected as the first bishop of the Catawba Ward.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Catawba Indians experienced various innovations in their life style as they participated in the auxiliaries of the LDS Church. The Church not only provided for the Catawbas' educational and spiritual needs, but it also offered social events such as dances, dinners, and sporting events. Not only did the Catawbas grow spiritually, but because of the

education they received, several began to attend public schools and others took jobs which previously were not available because of their lack of education.

As the Catawbas made strides in education and in job opportunities, they began to make demands upon the state for their tribal rights. They also petitioned the federal government for recognition.
CHAPTER 6

RELATIONS WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Federal Recognition

Up until the late 1920s the Catawbas existed on the paltry income they made by cotton farming and selling cordwood. This meager existence was augmented by a token annual appropriation from the State which in 1887 amounted to $800, "which the Indian agent A. E. Smith, interpreted as belonging not only to the sixty Catawbas then on the Reservation, but also to those scattered in other States and Territories."¹ Brown reported that an average of $30 per person was about the amount of the annual appropriation, although the amount varied from time to time.

Even though several attempts were made to reach a settlement with the State of South Carolina for the large unpaid debt stemming from the 1840 treaty, the State succeeded in parrying these attempts in typical bureaucratic fashion. On one occasion, Thomas Morrison

(chief of the tribe) went to the capital at Columbia and demanded the tribe's right to the land in question. Governor Richardson told the chief that if his people had been wronged the state would see that they received justice. This process of appealing to state officials was repeated many times in later years, but to no avail.

In the 1920s the prejudices against the Catawbas had been overcome to the point that several Indians were given jobs in the many mills in and around Rock Hill, an industrial center. These were the first jobs held by Catawbas, and they soon proved themselves to be honest and responsible, which led to the hiring of more Catawbas, who in some cases left the reservation and lived in the city.

Unfortunately this led to renewed feelings against the Indians among the white community, because the Indians in many cases took jobs from the less energetic white workers.\(^2\) (During the 1920s and 1930s the Indians were still not considered citizens of the state.)

In January, 1930, a resolution was introduced into the United States Senate and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. The Committee made the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be authorized and requested to investigate the conditions of the said Catawba Indians and report thereon with such recommendations as the committee may deem best for the interests of this tribe.\(^3\)

\(^2\)Interview with Herbert Blue, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 2, 1976.

\(^3\)"The Catawba Indians of South Carolina," Congressional Record-Senate, February 26, 1930, p. 4429.
Although this first attempt at federal recognition failed to pass, it apparently did some good in that the problem had surfaced, and South Carolina could not ignore the issue as before. According to Brown,

South Carolina's payments on its debt of honor—erroneously called "charity" by some—continued. This was the six per cent interest due on "about $18,000 or $20,000" which the State had owed the Catawbas since 1840. In 1939, the state appropriation was $8,250 "divided as follows": $6,000 for a general fund; $1,800 for the Reservation school, and $450 for the agent. This provided $18.40 each for able Indians and $25.71 for fourteen aged Indians. In addition, $10 was placed in trust for each aged person to provide medicine during the year.  

During the depression era of 1929–34 the Catawbas repeatedly made requests for assistance, but they were turned down because they were wards of the state and never had treaty obligations with the federal government. Because they were wards of South Carolina, it was up to the state to decide the fate of the tribe.

Repeated efforts were made to secure aid from the Federal Government for the nearly destitute Indians. In 1932 a Senate sub-committee of the Indian Affairs Committee inspected the reservation, and Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma reported to the commissioner that there were "some hundred and seventy-five remnants of this band located on a tract of practically barren rock and gradually starving to

death.  Senator Thomas suggested that funds for the Catawbas, as well as other destitute Indians, be appropriated. The BIA attempted to get South Carolina and federal agencies to develop a rehabilitation program among the Catawbas.

South Carolina and the federal government began to cooperate in an effort to rehabilitate the Tribe in 1934:

That immediately upon proper legislation being enacted by the Congress of the United States, the General Assembly of South Carolina will immediately transfer all title to the six hundred (600) acres of land on the Catawba River known as the Catawba Reservation to the Federal Government and that the care and maintenance of the Catawba Indians residing thereon shall be transferred to the Federal Government.

After nine years of negotiations between state and federal government and the Catawba Indian Tribe, a Memorandum of Understanding was issued on December 15, 1943. According to the BIA report the provisions of the Memorandum made by the three parties were to be:

The State agreed to:
Contribute $75,000 for the purchase of lands and retain them in tax exempt status. Any of the $75,000 not needed for the purchase of land would be turned over to the Bureau for expenditure on the Catawbas.
Convey all lands (both old and new) to the United States in trust status whenever the Secretary of the Interior considered such transfer desirable and was legally authorized to accept title in trust status.


6Brown, Catawba Indians: The People of the River, p. 354.

Recommended the appropriation by the South Carolina legislature of $9,500 per year for two years to be used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for rehabilitating the Catawbas.

Insure members of the Catawba Indian Tribe all the rights and privileges of any other citizen of the State of South Carolina.

To admit Indians to public schools including secondary schools, high schools, and State institutions of higher learning on the same terms as other citizens of South Carolina.

The Catawba Indians agreed to:
Organize for transaction of community business as recommended by the Indian Bureau.
To carry on a program of rehabilitation recommended by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs agreed, subject to the availability of funds appropriated by Congress, to:
Contribute annually for the welfare of the Catawba Indians, pursuant to the Johnson-O'Malley act, such sums as were made available for this purpose.
To assist in the development of Indians' arts and crafts and in marketing the products.
To assist other parties to the understanding in developing educational programs.
To make medical examinations of all members of the Catawba tribe as soon as personnel was available and whenever possible to hospitalize tubercular cases and other cases of illness in an Indian service sanitarium or in some other available hospital.
To make loans and grants to the Indians in accordance with Bureau policies.  

The Federal Government did not take over responsibility of the Catawbas from the state, but it did help the tribe rehabilitate itself. (See Map 2 which reveals the "New Reservation.")

In that same year (1943), South Carolina appropriated $12,000 for the Catawbas to provide such things as office supplies, medical

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ILLUSTRATION 2

Map of New Catawba Reservation Following Federal Recognition, 1943
fees, insurance, and old age funds. The state also deeded 3,432.8 acres to the Federal Government.  

In an attempt to carry out the last provisions accorded the state of South Carolina, the South Carolina Legislature declared: "All Catawba Indians are citizens of the State with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto."  

Although the state had conferred citizenship upon the Indians in 1910, they were denied the franchise, as well as being denied entrance to public schools. Segregation still existed in South Carolina and employers refused to offer jobs in textile mills to Indians until 1943. In an interview with Herbert Blue (son of Chief Samuel T. Blue) he revealed that a few Catawbas were employed in the mills before 1943, including Herbert himself, but the overwhelming majority of Catawba textile workers were employed after that date.  

These statutes were not strictly enforced at all times because a few Indians attended public schools in the late 1920s and early 1930s. One was Virginia Blue, who lived in Rock Hill. However, Indians were refused bus service, and only after several parents assembled together and demanded that the buses pick up their children did the buses stop

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9Ibid., p. 357.

10Even though the state had conferred citizenship upon Indians of South Carolina as early as 1910, it was not strictly enforced until it became a later provision of the 1944 Memorandum. (Statutes of S. C., 1944, Act No. 398.)
for them. In an interview with Bobby Blue, the writer was informed that when Indian children waited for the bus the driver often would drive right past them, forcing them to walk to Northside School--several miles away. Francis Wade and her sister were among the first to ride the school bus.

Many well-meaning state and federal officials undoubtedly felt that they had contributed to the welfare of the Catawbas through the Memorandum of Understanding, which was worked out between the state and federal governments.

On the positive side, the BIA encouraged the building of houses and remodelization of existing dwellings, and several homes were equipped with electricity and running water. The BIA helped reorganize the tribal government, as well as build a new schoolhouse on the reservation. Many people moved to better farming areas on the new reservation. The BIA encouraged arts and crafts such as the making and selling of artifacts and pottery. The Memorandum, however, failed to meet the expectations of the tribe. On the negative side, no loan money was available, making it difficult for Indians to borrow money to build homes even though they had the lumber. The few that did build homes borrowed money on personal notes, not on a mortgage-type loan. No money was available for small businesses. The Tribal Council was controlled by the agent, and he picked the people to make up the Council. Another complaint was that if a man wanted to chop a tree
for his own use or even for firewood, he had to contact the agent, who in return applied for permission. After the agent designated the tree to be cut, the Indian finally was allowed to cut his firewood. The BIA offered no assistance in arts and crafts (contrary to the agreement) and little educational assistance for technical training. According to one of the active members of the tribe, in an unexplained move the BIA sold forty-five acres of Catawba land to the City of Rock Hill; the money from the sale went to the Cherokee Nation.  

Termination

It came as little surprise that the tribe began murmuring against the federal government and eventually sought a way out from under its influence. Chief Sam Blue complained that many Indians were leaving the reservation because they could not afford to build decent homes. Employment in the textile mills induced many more to leave the reservation in search for employment.

In 1956, Chief Sam Blue made a public statement in which he charged the BIA with inefficiency, waste, and neglect of the Indians. Following several meetings with the federal government and local officials the Tribal Council met on March 28, 1959. By a vote of forty to seventeen, the Catawbas authorized Congressman Robert Hemphill

11 Interview with Roger S. Trimnal, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 3, 1976.

to introduce a bill which would sever all tribal relationships with the Federal Government, as well as providing for the division of all Indian assets (land, capital, etc.) among the members of the tribe.

Public Law 86-322, Statute 592 (Termination Bill), as introduced by Hemphill, cleared the House of Representatives on August 31, 1959, and the Senate on September 9, 1959. It was signed into law by President Eisenhower on September 21, 1959 (see Appendix 5 for a copy of the bill).

Several outside groups became interested in the termination proceedings and visited the reservation for the purpose of offering advice. One such group was the Rotary Club from Columbia, South Carolina, which visited the tribe in an effort to help the Indians settle up with the government. In contrast to this group, a party of Quakers came down from New York and pleaded with the tribe not to accept termination. The Association on American Indian Affairs, located in


\[15\] Interview with Herbert Blue, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 2, 1976.
New York, sent out fact sheets on the termination act. The information stated that

If a majority of the adult members of the Catawba Indian Tribe of South Carolina sign in favor of termination and a division of tribal assets, the following events will occur—Preparation of Tribal Roll, Determination of Distributable Assets and Individual Shares, Selection of Shares, Sale and Distribution of Remainder, and Education and Training Program. 16

This fact sheet estimated the assets of the tribe at $254,396.14. The number of Indians to participate in the division was 614, and the individual share to be obtained by each was between $407 and $475 (see Appendix 6). 17

An election was held on June 4, 1960, at the Catawba School House for the purpose of amending the membership rolls of 1943 to include those Catawbas who were in the military service or who had children while outside the state (see Appendix 7). 18 This policy was changed by majority vote of the tribe.

The Church did not become actively involved in the move for termination except that members who were also Catawbas carried out the proposals. According to some of the older Catawbas, the local Church leaders expressed the belief that the tribe would be better off


17 Ibid., p. 5.

if terminated. The influence of the Church was noted by Program Officer Raymond H. Bitney of the BIA in an official report to the agency:

The religious and social influence of the local church on the people has had a marked influence on their social advancement and behavior. Law and order problems are almost non-existent, and the rate of juvenile delinquency is less than the City of Rock Hill, a city that prides itself on its record.

Only a few had found it necessary to ask for welfare benefits. In 1958, 3.1% of the tribe was receiving public assistance, half of whom had become eligible for Old Age pensions.19

W. O. Suiter, the agent for the tribe, said that the tribe had progressed more in the preceding decade than any other tribe in the United States.

Hudson explained the significance of the Church as follows:

Paradoxically, the religion that at first set the Catawbas apart from other people later became an important medium of assimilation. This was particularly true in education, where the Mormon religion benefited the Catawbas both directly and indirectly. A direct benefit was that the Mormons believe that man has an infinite capacity for improvement; accordingly, they place high value on free will, rationality, self-improvement, and education.20

These testimonies as to the positive influence of the Church are further accented by the Lyman Tyler work paper on the Termination Report of 1952, which attested to the fact that the Catawba Tribe was self-sufficient to the point that it was ready for termination, whereas larger

19 U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Reports of Richard D. Butts, superintendent of Cherokee Agency and the Catawba Tribe; Glenn L. Emmons, Indian commissioner; and Raymond H. Bitney, Bureau of Indian Affairs representative to the Catawbas. See also correspondence between Congressman James P. Richards of South Carolina and Commissioner Emmons.

tribes which had been under the BIA since removal in 1830 (i.e. Cherokee, etc.) were not prepared for termination. 21

Although federal and state governments played an important role in the lives of the Catawbas, the greatest influence was and is the LDS Church. Through the years the Church has been the one mainstay of the tribe. Besides fulfilling their spiritual needs, the Church provided recreation, intellectual opportunities, the scouting program, social events, weddings, a welfare program, and education. Besides helping the Catawbas prepare for the future through education, the principles taught in the Church in many cases helped them find and keep steady employment. The Word of Wisdom taught by the Church almost eradicated the problem with alcoholism and drug abuse which were prevalent on the reservation prior to the advent of Mormonism. The Church solidified the Catawbas and was responsible for holding them together as a social unit and tribe.

One of the greatest assets of Mormonism was its role in helping the Catawbas to recognize the need of education for their children. According to Hudson,

Mormon teachings instilled a desire for education in the Catawbas, but their aspirations were at first blocked locally because the whites would not allow them to attend public schools. A few of

21 S. Lyman Tyler, Indian Affairs (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1964), p. 146.
them took advantage of the alternatives that were available. Five or six of them went to the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and a few went to the school at the Cherokee reservation.22

Mormon Indians of all tribes can attend BYU in Provo, Utah, free of charge if they do not have the necessary money for a college education.23 Many Catawbas have availed themselves of this opportunity, including the Trimnal Family, who sent all three of their children to BYU. Kelly Harris, a Catawba, is currently one of the leaders and spokesmen for the BYU-affiliated "Tribe of Many Feathers."24

Albert H. Sanders was chief at the time of termination. He was staunchly in favor of being liberated from the influence of the federal government. He stated, "A lot of other tribes are glad to be under the Federal Government on Reservations. Speaking for myself, I'm glad to get out. . . . Now the Indian will have to make it just like any other citizen."25

22Hudson, The Catawba Nation, p. 84.

23Interview with Leaborne L. Whitesell, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 2, 1976.

24Interview with John Maestas, chairman of the BYU Indian Education Department, Provo, Utah, January 12, 1976.

The final membership roll showed 631 Indians. One of the last acts of the tribe before termination was to set aside 125 acres for an existing cemetary and 100 acres for the LDS Church. Upon division of the tribal assets, many families moved from the now defunct reservation. The state properties of 630 acres were retained, and any Catawban can return and reside on the reservation and build a home if he desires. (See Map 3 for location of the Catawba Indian Nation.)

Reactions to Termination

Termination has been received with mixed emotions by those of the Catawba Nation who participated in the event. For a few, termination cut the umbilical cord which bound them fast to BIA rules and regulations. These people were free to sell, rent, or mortgage their property as they chose, according to their will. To many, termination was seen as a chance to escape their unique identity as Catawbas and quietly be assimilated into white America.

However, for the majority, the termination of the tribe proved the truth of the old adage "Damned if you do; damned if you don't." Most remained subject to the poverty and helplessness characteristic of reservation life. Before long their money and land were gone and they were forced to face the same problems they had when they were reservation Indians. An Indian is an Indian, whether or not he lives on a reservation. Slowly, but surely, many Catawbas began to drift back to the existing state reservation. This was for many an economic move
ILLUSTRATION 3

Map of Location of the Catawba Indian Nation (1975)
because reservation Indians are tax-exempt. Many more became conscious of their heritage, and, in an effort to preserve it, they began to meet together once again as an Indian tribe.

In August, 1973, twelve years after termination, the Catawba Nation elected an executive committee to govern the tribe. This was brought about by a few concerned Catawbas who were perplexed by the many ills prevalent on the small reservation. Quite a number of non-reservation Indians participated in this election, and it appears quite evident that they were concerned over losing their Indian heritage and culture.

As a result of this meeting, and in accordance with BIA guidelines, the executive committee, as elected, consisted of Gilbert Billy Blue, chief; Fred Sanders, assistant chief; Carson T. Blue and Evans M. (Buck) George, committeemen; and Samuel Beck, secretary and treasurer. Of the five members of the executive committee, four were members of the Catawba Ward, and three of these were holding leadership positions. The fifth member resides in Rock Hill and regularly attends the Baptist Church.

26Interview with Roger S. Trimnal, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 3, 1976.
The first act of the committee was to ascertain the legal status of the tribe. In a letter from the office of the attorney general of South Carolina, the staff said, "It is the opinion of this office that the 630 acre state reservation is still held in trust by the State of South Carolina for the use and benefit of the Catawba Indians under the terms of the Deed of December 24, 1842." Whether the Catawbas do legally have a reservation will probably have to be settled by a court of law. The attorney general's opinion cited above reflects the government's inconsistency, as well as the deliberate ambiguity that has always been the case in dealing with the American Indian. Would it not be just as easy, for instance, if the Catawbas made some legal demands on the state, for the state to issue an opposing "opinion" from the attorney general's office?

Working on the assumption that they had a reservation to govern, the ill-equipped (in terms of money and materials), tribal committee established a constitution and by-laws, a copy of which is contained in Appendix 8. The committee then began to attack the problems of economic, social, and cultural growth. There appear to be three main problems confronting the tribe today, namely, tribal organization and government, re-recognition by the federal government, and 

\[27\] Letter from John L. Choate, staff attorney, office of the attorney general, to Gilbert Blue, chief, Catawba Indian Tribe, March 24, 1975, p. 3.
and the settling of claims against the federal as well as the state government. These problems are overlapping and cannot be understood if viewed separately.

**Tribal Organization and Government**

The tribal government has attempted to ascertain the status of the tribe and reservation. John L. Choate has explained:

> The doctrine that Indian affairs are subject to control of the federal, rather than state government, arises from the constitutional powers of Congress to make treaties, to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, to admit new states, and to administer the property of the United States and legislation enacted in pursuance of these powers. *Martinez v. Southern Ute Tribe of Southern Ute Reservation, 249 F.2d 915* (10th Cir. 1957).²⁸

According to South Carolina, the lack of recognition by the United States government subjects the Catawbas to the laws of the state. At present the state appears to be going along with the legalities of the tribe in agreement with the tribal government. The state has upheld the Catawbas' right to remove non-Indians from the reservation:

> The Catawba Indian Reservation was purchased by the State for the use and benefit of the Catawba tribe. Therefore the non-Indian widow of a Catawba Indian is not entitled to continue to reside on the reservation unless she is granted tribal membership by the Catawbas.³⁰

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²⁸ Letter from John L. Choate, legal assistant, to Hon. Robert L. McFadden, October 9, 1974, p. 2.

In a very favorable move, the tribe became incorporated under the name of The Catawba Indian Nation of South Carolina on October 1, 1975. According to the certificate of incorporation filed with the state, "The purpose of the said proposed Corporation is to organize and manage the affairs of the Catawba Indian Nation." The tribe as constituted is not organized for the purpose of profit or gain; rather it desires to hold property in common for religious, educational, social, fraternal, charitable, and other eleemosynary purposes. 31

Another important consideration is tribal membership and the regulation of it:

As a general rule, such title as Indians have to possess and occupy land is in the tribe, and not in the individual. The right of individual Indians to share in the tribal property usually depends upon tribal membership, the property of the tribe being held in communal ownership. 41 Am. Jur. 2d Indians §24 (1968). 32

It should be remembered that when reference is made to population figures of the Catawbas, the statistics are taken from the South Carolina tribal rolls only. Probably one-half or more of the Catawbas are not on the official role. Although they have lost their status as Catawba reservation Indians, nevertheless, they are Catawbas. The first roll compiled in 1943 showed 327 members. The 1961 roll listed


631 Catawbas. These members resided on the reservation or returned to place their names on the rolls. Several names have been added from the time of termination through 1975.

By projecting the population of the Catawbas based on the 1961 roll, a conservative projection for 1974 would be approximately 1,300 Indians. This projection makes the assumption that the 121 enrollees aged twenty to twenty-five married and have two children each, and the 152 enrollees aged twenty-six to thirty-five have had three children each, for a total of 1,312 members. Regardless of the exact number of Catawbas, this projection makes the reader aware of the numbers involved when studying the Catawbas. If the non-enrolled Indians reproduced along the same conservative lines (conservative by LDS standards) as registered Indians, the number could easily be between 2,500 and 3,000 Catawbas.

The Catawbas could easily obtain political power in their voting district by voting in a block. Thus, politicians would be forced to make concessions or introduce legislation favorable to the Indians.

One of the main issues that concerns the Catawbas is that of poverty. The average annual family income of the tribe is between $4,000 and $6,999. The total adult population employed full-time receiving wages above the poverty level is approximately twelve. There are around fifty unemployed adults available for training and/or job placement. Approximately eighty adults are economically
disadvantaged—living on welfare or receiving wages below the poverty level. (See Table 2 for listing of adult labor force.)

TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>16-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-64</th>
<th>65t</th>
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</thead>
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<td>MALE</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A manpower program for native Americans offered by CENA (Coalition of Eastern Native Americans), in an effort to improve the employability of the Catawbas, hired Mrs. Francis Wade (the first paid employee of the tribe) to direct the manpower project on the reservation. As a result of this program, over fifty persons have been enrolled in various schools, work experiences, and on-the-job training. According to Mrs. Wade, "We've never had anything like this in Catawba."

The now defunct manpower program (funds discontinued by BIA because of the mismanagement of funds) has been abandoned, but Mrs. Wade, working without a salary, continues to help those previously enrolled in the program.
Re-recognition by Federal Government

The attempt to be "recognized" by the federal government supports the fact that termination simply did not work. According to Chief Blue,

Reinstatement as a tribe will allow the Catawbas to qualify for Federal money under the Bureau of Indian Affairs for educational and development programs. It's really not fair, you're an Indian if you're on the reservation or not. We're not trying to get anything special. We just want the same opportunity as other Indians. 33

With proper financial backing (i.e., loan money from the BIA), the Catawbas could possibly experience an economic boost that could eventually lead to self-sufficiency for the members of the tribe. It could also bring about a cultural awakening for the tribe, the county, and the state.

The largest problem facing the Catawbas at this time is not "recognition," or "manpower programs," but securing a community center. According to Roger Snow Trimnal, "Without the existence of a community center, the community, [and in this case the tribe] cannot exist." 34 The executive committee has no place to meet, no safe


34 Interview with Roger S. Trimnal, Rock Hill, South Carolina, January 3, 1976. Roger obtained an M.A. at BYU and worked for the Church in the Indian Placement Program for Indians for several years before returning to Catawba.
place to store its records, and no hall for special events or the distribution of information, the sales of Catawba products, or the holding of elections. The Church is too small, and the schoolhouse is in such disrepair that it would be unsafe to use.

The tribe has no permanent address for the tribal council, tourists have no idea where to go to ask directions, and there is a gigantic breakdown in communications. The only social activities held are those sponsored by or related to the Church, such as dances, ball games, and dinners.

The poor financial condition of the tribe prevents the Catawbas from building a meeting hall themselves. There are many intelligent leaders in the executive council. Several suggestions, such as encouraging tourism, building museums, establishing a cultural center where artifacts and pottery could be made and sold, building camping facilities, and organizing a zoo have been proposed. The possibilities are limitless, but in order to succeed with any of them, the Catawbas as a people must support and encourage their leaders. Once this zeal and interest is shown, outside organizations such as CENA, NARF (Native American Rights Foundation), USERT (United South East Tribe), the state, and possibly the BIA will be more receptive and help the tribe generate enough capital to overcome the economic problems it experiences.
Settling of Claims against the Federal and State Government

The relationship between the Catawbas, the United States of America, and the State of South Carolina has been a nefarious one to say the least. The fact that the tribe never received Independent Nation status and was not made free to make treaties and obligations with the federal government appears to be highly suspect. The questionable legality of making the Indians wards of a state needs further explaining. Furthermore, the reduction of the 144,000-acre reservation to 630 acres without fulfilling the monetary or other requirements of the 1840 treaty should also be examined.

The Catawbas have always believed that they have been taken advantage of by the federal government and the State of South Carolina. Many attempts have been made to retain a good lawyer, but financial difficulties usually caused the attempts to fail. In the 1950s the Catawbas approached Ernest L. Wilkinson for the purpose of having him represent them in prosecuting their claims against the government. Wilkinson, a staunch Mormon, had been active in Indian claims suits at the time:

The Indians Claims Commission Act of 1946 (25USC section, 70 et. cet.) was very much the result of the untiring work of Ernest Wilkinson. . . . The Indians of this country owe a great
debt of gratitude to Dr. Wilkinson for his wisdom and skill employed in the drafting of the statute and for his persuasive ability before the Congress in securing its enactment.\textsuperscript{35}

Although Wilkinson or his prestigious law firm in Washington, D.C., have handled forty-three or forty-four significant Indian cases before the Court of Claims, he was not able to take the Catawbas as clients. He explained:

\begin{quote}
A quarter of a century ago when I was in Washington practicing law, these Indians [Catawbas] wanted me to represent them in prosecuting their claims against the government. I was so completely swamped with other matters at the time that I felt I could not take them as a client and do justice to them. Ever since that time I have regretted it, even now I still don't know how I could have ever represented them properly.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

After procrastinating for 136 years, the Catawba Tribal Council on June 19, 1976, submitted a proposal to the tribe to proceed with legal action against the state of South Carolina for alleged claims pursuant to the 1840 treaty between the state and the Catawbas. At that time there were not enough members present to make a quorum and the proposal was not approved. Subsequently, on July 17, 1976, Section 5 of Article III of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Catawba Indian Nation was fulfilled, when sixty-four members of the tribe unanimously approved the proposal.\textsuperscript{37}


\textsuperscript{36}Letter from Ernest L. Wilkinson to President Spencer W. Kimball, March 2, 1974, pp. 1-2.

\textsuperscript{37}Interview with Roger S. Trimnal, Rock Hill, South Carolina, July 18, 1976.
It is the opinion of the writer that the Catawbas ought to solicit the help of a competent attorney in evaluating their claims against the state and federal governments. It is entirely possible that they may receive some compensation for their loss of property at the hands of the government.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

Based on the findings of this study the following conclusions may be drawn about the LDS Church influence on the Catawbas.

Social

1. The Catawbas were almost to the point of extinction when converted to the LDS Church. The few Catawbas which faced an almost inevitable extinction in the early 1880s have, as a result of their association with the Mormon Church, survived and multiplied their numbers to approximately 3,000 in 1975. Earlier writers familiar with the dwindling remnants of the tribe were of the opinion that the Catawbas were doomed as a tribe.

2. The impact of Mormonism upon the Catawbas was the most revolutionary and positive event in Catawba history. As a result of Mormon influence, the entire structure and society of the Catawba Tribe has changed for the better. The natives that were uncivilized, ignorant, and below the status of slaves in the eyes of many Southerners less than a century ago have emerged through the teachings
and promptings of the Church to the level of intelligent, responsible citizens who in many cases are looked up to because of their strong religious beliefs, not only in the surrounding community, but in the whole State of South Carolina. Every aspect of the Catawbas has been influenced by Mormonism, including education, religion, social events, employment, physical education, health education, and sex and marriage education. Because of their association with other Mormons in South Carolina and in Utah, many Catawbas have married other Mormons (Indian and white), and in most cases they tend to be well off socially and economically.

**Economic**

As a result of the education and leadership opportunities provided by the Church, the economic base of the tribe was expanded into the nearby mills and available jobs off the reservation. No longer did the Catawbas have to scratch out a meager living from the overused soil, but they could earn a living wage at a job previously unavailable to them. Because of the importance of education as taught by the Church, many Catawbas enrolled at various Indian schools, including Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Indian School at the Cherokee Reservation after completing schooling provided by the LDS Church.

In later years jobs were made available through the WPA (Works Progress Administration), and public schools were opened for the Indians. The Catawbas continued to receive training through work
programs and technical schools, and a few received advanced degrees from various colleges and universities, including the Church-owned BYU, which the Indians could attend on scholarship.

As a result of their overall training and education, the Catawbas presently enjoy good relationships with employers and state and local officials and are economically better off than at any other time in their history since the arrival of the white man.

**Political**

From the beginning, the Mormons have urged the Catawbas to exercise their rights and become involved in just causes. The early Mormon teachers helped them petition the state for school equipment and for their rights as citizens. Although the state conferred citizenship upon the Indians in 1910, it was not until 1943 when the tribe was recognized by the federal government that this took effect.

The headmen of the tribe had always petitioned the state for needs (money, land, food), but as a result of Mormonism these needs changed to schools, teachers, and citizenship, reflecting a value judgment on the part of the Catawbas.

Today the Catawbas appear to have a fairly broad base of political power, or at least strong prestigious relationships with local, state, and federal officials. The needs of the Catawbas in the 1970s reflect a responsible, positive, pragmatic attitude on the part of the tribal committee. The leaders and persons responsible for the
reorganization of the tribe in 1972 were members of the LDS Church and served in leadership positions in the Catawba Ward. These leaders were trained and had experience in public speaking and leadership positions, which prepared them for their roles as tribal leaders. Although termination of dependence upon the federal government was a disaster for most tribal members, they now ask for loans, not outright grants, and they seek for land which will benefit the entire tribe, not for property for individual ownership.

**Religious**

The Catawbas are the only tribe in North America to accept Christianity over paganism and to join Mormonism, even though every major denomination has spent much money and effort in an attempt to convert them to their particular religion. The reasons for this phenomenon are simple. First, the missionaries offered the Catawbas the history of their forefathers in the Book of Mormon. Secondly (a factor which this writer believes had a much greater impact upon the tribe), the Mormons were deeply and sincerely concerned with the Indians' physical as well as spiritual needs.

The relationship between Indians and Mormons, as discussed in this study, enabled the Catawbas to make rapid progress in the past century. As a direct result of Mormonism, the Catawba is atypical of other Indian tribes in the sense that there are no alcoholism, drugs, illiteracy, or suicide problems among the Catawba. Because of Church
influence, the tribe qualified for termination from the federal govern-
ment ahead of tribes that had been under the BIA for a hundred years or
so. Much time and effort was expended by both the Catawbas and the
Mormons in this unique relationship, and both deserve recognition for
their accomplishment.
# APPENDIX 1

## TABLE 3

**CATAWBA LDS CONVERTS - 1882-1912**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>MINUTES AND JOSEPH WILLEY DIARY LOCATED IN LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES</th>
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<td>1895</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
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<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>119</td>
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APPENDIX 2

TABLE 4

SOUTH CAROLINA TRIBES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catawba Division</th>
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<td>Keyauwee</td>
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<td>Peedee</td>
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<td>Yadkin</td>
<td>Waccamaw</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Winyaw</td>
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</table>

**Tutelo Division**

| Manahoac                  | Siouan Stock      |
| Moneton                   | Biloxi            |
| Nahyssan                  | Ofo (or Mosopelea)|
| Occaneechi                | Quapaw (marginal) |
| Saponi                    |                   |
| Tutelo                    |                   |

APPENDIX 3

KING HAGLER’S TALK*
August 29, 1754

As to our Liveing on those Lands
we Expect to live on those Lands we now possess
During our Time here
for when the Great man above made us
he also made this Island
he also made our forefathers and of this Colour and Hue.

(Showing his hands & Breast)

he also fixed our forefathers and us here
to Inherit this Land and Ever since
we Lived after our manner and fashion
we in those Days, had no Instruments
To support our living
but Bows which we compleated with stones,
knives we had none,
and as it was our Custom in those days to Cut our hair ...

we Did [this] by Burning it off our heads and Bodies
with Coals of Fire,
our Axes we made of stone
we bled ourselves with fish Teeth
our Cloathing were Skins and Furr
instead of which we [now] Enjoy these Cloaths
which we got from the white people
and Ever since they first Came among us
we have Enjoyed all those things
that we were then destitute of
for which we thank the white people,
and to this Day
we have lived in a Brotherly Love & peace with them
and more Especially with these Three Governments
[South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia]
and it is our Earnest Desire
that Love and Friendship
which has so Long remain'd
should Ever continue.

—from the North Carolina Colonial Records.

(This speech of the Catawba leader as interpreted by Matthew Toole is unchanged in spelling and punctuation from its public records' entry, except that it has been divided into lines to show its poetic qualities.)

*King Hagler, an almost legendary figure and king of the Catawbas, in this talk expresses the Indian's desire to live in peace with the white man. It is appalling to learn that the same states mentioned (especially South Carolina) later rejected and tried to remove this once great and proud nation.
APPENDIX 4

TREATY OF 1840


ARTICLE FIRST. THE CHIEFS AND HEADMEN OF THE CATAWBA INDIANS, FOR THEMSELVES AND THE ENTIRE NATION, HEREBY AGREE TO CEDE, SELL, TRANSFER, AND CONVEY TO THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ALL THEIR RIGHT, TITLE, AND INTEREST TO THEIR BOUNDARY OF LAND LYEING ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CATAWBA RIVER, SITUATED IN THE DISTRICTS OF YORK AND LANCASTER, AND WHICH ARE REPRESENTED IN A PLAT OF SURVEY OF 15 MILES SQUARE, MADE BY SAMUEL WILEY (WYLY) AND DATED THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF FEBRUARY, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOUR, AND NOW ON FILE IN THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE.

ARTICLE SECOND. THE COMMISSIONERS ON THEIR PART ENGAGE IN BEHALF OF THE STATE TO FURNISH THE CATAWBA INDIANS WITH A TRACT OF LAND OF THE VALUE OF $5,000.00, 300 ACRES OF WHICH IS TO BE GOOD ARABLE LANDS FIT FOR CULTIVATION, TO BE PURCHASED IN HAYWOOD COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, OR IN SOME OTHER MOUNTAINOUS OR THINLY POPULATED REGION. WHERE THE SAID INDIANS MAY DESIRE, AND IF NO SUCH TRACT CAN BE PROCURED TO THEIR SATISFACTION, THEY SHALL BE ENTITLED TO RECEIVE THE FOREGOING AMOUNT IN CASH FROM THE STATE.

ARTICLE THIRD. THE COMMISSIONERS FURTHER ENGAGE THAT THE STATE SHALL PAY THE SAID CATAWBA INDIANS $2,500.00 AT OR IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE TIME OF THEIR REMOVAL, AND $1,500.00 EACH YEAR THEREAFTER, FOR THE SPACE OF NINE YEARS. IN WITNESS WHEREOF THE CONTRACTING PARTIES HAVE HEREUNTO SET THEIR HANDS AND AFFIXED THEIR SEALS THIS THIRTEENTH DAY OF MARCH,
ANNO DOMINI ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND FORTY, AND IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH YEAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

JOHN SPRINGS (L.S.), D. HUTCHISON (L.S.), E. AVERY (L.S.), B.S. MASSEY (L.S.), ALLEN MORROW (L.S.), JAMES KEGG, GEN. (L.S.), (HIS X MARK), DAVID HARRIS, COL. (L.S.) (HIS X MARK), JOHN JOE, MAJOR (L.S.), (HIS X MARK), WM. GEORGE, CAPT. (L.S.) (HIS X MARK), PHILIP KEGG, LIEUT. (L.S.) (HIS X MARK), J.D.P. CURRENCE FOR SAM SCOTT, SAML. SCOTT, COL. (L.S.) (HIS X MARK), H. T. MASSEY FOR ALLEN HARRIS, ALLEN HARRIS, LIEUT. (L.S.).

WITNESS OF THOSE TWO SIGNATURES.

W. E. White

William White

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I, D. H. Tompkins, secretary of state, certify the foregoing to be a true copy of a treaty made with the Catawba Indians, and recorded in this office in Vol. II of Miscellaneous Records, page 234.

Witness my hand to the great seal of State.

D. H. Tompkins, Secretary of State.
AN ACT

To provide for the division of the tribal assets of the Catawba Indian Tribe of South Carolina among the members of the tribe and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when a majority of the adult members of the Catawba Indian Tribe of South Carolina, according to the most reliable information regarding membership that is available to the Secretary of the Interior, have indicated their agreement to a division of the tribal assets in accordance with the provisions of this Act, the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register a notice of that fact. The membership roll of the Catawba Indian Tribe of South Carolina shall thereupon be closed as of midnight of the date of such notice, and no child born thereafter shall be eligible for enrollment. The Secretary of the Interior with advice and assistance of the tribe shall prepare a final roll of the members of the tribe who are living at such time, and when so doing shall provide a reasonable opportunity for any person to protest against the inclusion or omission of any name on or from the roll. The Secretary's decisions on all protests shall be final and conclusive. After all protests are disposed of, the final roll shall be published in the Federal Register.

SEC. 2. Each member whose name appears on the final roll of the tribe as published in the Federal Register shall be entitled to receive an approximately equal share of the tribe's assets that are held in trust by the United States in accordance with the provisions of this Act. This right shall constitute personal property which may be inherited or bequeathed, but it shall not otherwise be subject to alienation or encumbrance.
SEC. 3. The tribe's assets shall be distributed in accordance with the following provisions:

(a) If the State of South Carolina by legislation authorizes assets that are held by the State in trust for the tribe to be included in the distribution plan prepared by the Secretary in accordance with the provisions of this Act, they may be included.

(b) The tribal council shall designate any part of the tribe's land that is to be set aside for church, park, playground, or cemetary purposes and the Secretary is authorized to convey such tracts to trustees or agencies designated by the tribal council for that purpose and approved by the Secretary.

(c) The remaining tribal assets shall be appraised by the Secretary and the share of each member shall be determined by dividing the total number of enrolled members into the total appraisal. The tribal assets so appraised shall not include any improvements that were placed on the part of an assignment that is selected by an assignee, or his wife or children, pursuant to subsection (d) of this section. Such improvements shall be property of the assignee.

(d) Subject to the provisions of this subsection, each member who is an adult under the laws of the State and who has an assignment shall be given the option of selecting and receiving title to any part of his assignment that has an appraised value not in excess of his share of the tribe's assets. A wife, husband, or child of such adult member may select and receive title to any part of such assignment that has an appraised value not in excess of her or his share of the tribe's assets; and, if the child is a minor under the laws of the State, the option on his behalf may be exercised by such adult member. Each selection shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, who shall consider the effect of the selection on the total value of the property. The title to any part of an assignment so selected may be taken in the name of the person entitled thereto, or the title to all of the parts of an assignment so selected may be taken in the names of the persons entitled thereto as tenants in common.

(e) Each member who has no assignment may select and receive title to any part of the tribal land that is not selected pursuant to subsection (d) of this section and that has an appraised value not in excess of his share of the tribe's assets.
(f) All assets of the tribe that are not selected and conveyed to members pursuant to subsections (d) and (e) of this section shall be sold and the proceeds distributed to the members in accordance with their respective interests. Such sales shall be by competitive bid and any member shall have the right to purchase property offered for sale for a price not less than the highest acceptable bid therefor. If more than one member exercises such right, the property shall be sold to the member exercising the right who offers the highest price. Any tribal assets that are not sold by the Secretary within two years from the date of the notice provided for in section 1 of this Act shall be conveyed to a trustee selected by the Secretary for disposition in accordance with this subsection, and the fees and expenses of such trustee shall be paid out of funds appropriated for the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to make such land surveys and to execute such conveyancing instruments as he deems necessary to convey marketable and recordable titles to the tribal assets disposed of pursuant to this Act. Each grantee shall receive an unrestricted title to the property conveyed.

SEC. 5. The constitution of the tribe adopted pursuant to the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended, shall be revoked by the Secretary. Thereafter, the tribe and its members shall not be entitled to any of the special services performed by the United States for Indians because of their status as Indians, all statutes of the United States that affect Indians because of their status as Indians shall be inapplicable to them, and the laws of the several States shall apply to them in the same manner they apply to other persons or citizens within their jurisdiction. Nothing in this Act, however, shall affect the status of such persons as citizens of the United States.

SEC. 6. Nothing in this Act shall affect the rights, privileges, or obligations of the tribe and its members under the laws of South Carolina.

SEC. 7. No property distributed under the provisions of this Act shall at the time of distribution be subject to any Federal or State income tax. Following any distribution of property made under the provisions of this act, such property and income derived therefrom by the distributee shall be subject to the same taxes, State and Federal, as in the case of non-Indians: Provided, That for the purpose of capital gains or losses the base value of the property shall be the value of the property when distributed to the grantee.
SEC. 8. Prior to the revocation of the tribal constitution provided for in this Act, the Secretary is authorized to undertake, within the limits of available appropriations, a special program of education and training designed to help the members of the tribe to earn a livelihood, to conduct their own affairs, and to assume their responsibilities as citizens without special services because of their status as Indians. Such program may include language training, orientation in non-Indian community customs and living standards, vocational training and related subjects, transportation to the place of training or instruction, and subsistence during the course of training or instruction. For the purposes of such program, the Secretary is authorized to enter into contracts or agreements with any Federal, State, or local governmental agency, corporation, association, or persons. Nothing in this section shall preclude any Federal agency from undertaking any other program for the education and training of Indians with funds appropriated to it.

Approved: September 21, 1959.
APPENDIX 6

Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.
48 East 86th Street
New York 28, New York

FACT SHEET ON CATAWBA TERMINATION ACT.

If a majority of the adult members of the Catawba Indian Tribe of South Carolina sign in favor of termination and a division of tribal assets, the following events will occur:

A. Preparation of Tribal Roll

1. The Secretary of the Interior will publish a notice of the tribe’s action in the Federal Register.

2. At midnight on the date of publication, the Tribal roll will close. No person born after midnight will be eligible for enrollment as a member of the Tribe.

3. The Secretary of the Interior will prepare a final roll of living members of the Tribe. Any person will be given an opportunity to protest the inclusion or exclusion of any name on the roll. The Secretary will finally determine all protests.
4. The Final Roll will be published in the Federal Register.

5. Every person appearing on the Final Roll will be entitled to an equal share of the Tribal assets.

B. Determination of Distributable Assets and Individual Shares

1. The Tribal Council will designate the portions of the tribe's land which are to be set aside for church, park, playground or cemetery purposes. These lands will not be distributed.

2. The legislature of the State of South Carolina will have to decide whether the property held in trust for the Tribe by the State will be made available for distribution on the same basis as the property held in trust for the Tribe by the Federal Government.

3. The Tribal assets less any amount reserved under B(1) above plus any amount added under B(2) above will be appraised by the Secretary of the Interior. (Improvements placed on land by assignees will not be appraised, but are property of the individual assignees.)

4. The total appraisal under B(3) will be divided by the number of persons on the Final Roll. The resulting figure will be the share to which individual members will be entitled.
C. **Selection of Shares**

1. Each adult member who has an assignment may select and receive title to any portion of his assignment as long as its appraised value does not exceed the share as determined under B(4) above.

2. After the member has made his selection and if a portion of the assignment is left over, the spouse of the member or any child may select additional portions of the assignment and receive title thereto. In each case, however, the appraised value of the selection may not exceed the share determined for each individual under B(4) above.

3. In the case of any minor child, the selection may be made by the parent.

4. After all the selections under C(1) and C(2) have been made, any member who has no assignment at present may select a portion of the tribal land that would be left over. Once again the appraised value of the selection may not exceed the share determined under B(4) above.

5. No selection will take effect until approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary has the power to disapprove any selection.
D. **Sale and Distribution of Remainder**

1. The Tribal assets which were not disposed of under C are then to be sold to the highest bidder.

2. The proceeds of the sale are to be distributed among the members so that the share of the proceeds under D plus the selection under C is equal to the share as determined under B(4). (For example, if the share of each member is determined to be $400, and one man makes a selection worth $300, he will be paid another $100 in cash.)

E. **Education and Training Program**

1. Before ending the relationship between the Federal Government and the Catawbas, the Secretary of the Interior is to conduct a program of education, adult education and vocational training of the kind conducted for other Indian tribes.

2. Upon termination of the program under E(1), the Secretary will revoke the Tribal Constitution and thereby end all Federal relations with the Catawbas. Thereafter the Catawbas will not be entitled to any special Federal services for Indians.

One question that concerns many Catawbas is how much they will receive as a result of any distribution. The following analysis will be helpful in arriving at that figure:
Assets and Liabilities of Catawba Indian Tribe

3,888.8 acres of land held by the Federal Government in trust for the Tribe are estimated at $203,215.00

120 head of Tribal beef cattle and equipment are estimated at $17,120.00

Cash on deposit at the agency $4,949.14

6,500 M b.f. of timber are estimated at $30,512.00

Net Worth $254,396.14

These figures were submitted by the Department of the Interior to Congress on August 27, 1959. The estimate of the value of the land is not based on an appraisal. It is merely an educated guess. Every Catawba can examine it and decide for himself whether the estimate is accurate.

Assuming that all the estimates are accurate we start with a net worth of $254,396.14. From that amount we must subtract the value of any land which the Tribal Council might reserve for church, park, playground or cemetery purposes. At the same time we must consider that the State may add the land known as the "old reservation." The net worth available for distribution might, therefore, vary from $250,000 to $290,000, assuming that the Interior Department's estimates are fairly accurate.
Once we have established the Tribe's net worth, we must look at the enrollment figure. According to the Department the Tribe now has 614 members. By the time the Final Roll is published, the number of members may be slightly larger.

What this means is that with a total membership of 614, each individual share will amount to from $407 to $475. If the membership turns out to be larger, the shares might be smaller. As already explained, every member will have an opportunity to take his share in land. If he takes less than his full share in land, he will receive the remainder in cash.

There is one feature of the termination bill which is unique and deserves particular attention: There will be no referendum on termination. Instead, every member is given the opportunity to sign a statement in favor of termination and hand it to the Chief of the Tribe or send it to the Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Every member will also be free not to sign such a statement.

Once the Indian Bureau is in possession of signed statements from a majority of the Tribal members, it will publish a list of such members. Anyone incorrectly listed will be allowed to have his name
removed. Only when a clear majority of the adult membership of the Catawba Indian Tribe has signed up for termination will the Secretary of the Interior proceed with the termination program.
APPENDIX 7

NOTICE OF ELECTION - JUNE 4, 1960
CATAWBA TRIBE

Hours: 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.  Voting Place: Catawba School House

The Catawba General Tribal Council passed a resolution on May 21, 1960, wherein they requested the Secretary of Interior to hold an election on June 4, 1960, to consider the amendment of Article II of the Constitution and By-laws which now reads as follows:

"Section 1. The membership of the Catawba Tribe of South Carolina shall consist of:

(a) All persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the tribal roll of July 1, 1943, as recognized by the State of South Carolina.

(b) All children born to any member of the Catawba Tribe, who is a resident of the State of South Carolina at the time of the birth of said children.

Section 2. The General Tribal Council, hereinafter provided for, shall have the power to pass ordinances, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Interior, covering future membership and adoption of new members."

and which may be changed by majority vote to read as follows:

"The membership of the Catawba Tribe of South Carolina shall consist of:
(a) All persons of Catawba Indian blood whose names appear on the Tribal roll of July 1, 1943, as recognized by the State of South Carolina, and all persons of Catawba Indian blood who were residents of South Carolina on July 1, 1943, but who were absent from the State on that date due to serving in the Armed Forces of the United States.

(b) All children born to any member of the Catawba Tribe, who was a resident of the State of South Carolina at the time of birth of said children, except that the resident requirement shall not apply to those children who were born during the period their parents were away from the State of South Carolina, due to one or both parents serving in the Armed Forces of the United States."

In accordance with the above resolution the Secretary of Interior has directed that an election be held for the purpose of permitting the eligible voters to vote on the proposed amendment as explained above.

The tribal roll of July 1, 1943, as recognized by the State of South Carolina, is used as the basis for a voter list to be posted at the post office, Rock Hill, South Carolina, the LDS Church, the Catawba School House, the Tribal Building, and placed in the hands of Chief Albert Sanders, and Secretary Mrs. Gladys Thomas. Only those who have reached their 21st birthday on June 4, 1960 will be eligible to vote.

Voting hours are from 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. The voting will take place at the Catawba School House. Voting will be by secret ballot and the voting will be supervised by an Election Board consisting of three recognized members of the Catawba Tribe and the Superintendent or his authorized representative.

Eligible voters who currently live outside of York County, South Carolina will be considered an absentee in this election. All those who live in York County will vote in person at the Catawba School House.

Ballots are mailed to those voters who live outside York County, South Carolina, to their last known address. Please mark your ballot, fold and place it in the envelope marked "Absentee Ballot," then place the envelop marked "Absentee Ballot" in the envelop addressed to Superintendent Darrell Fleming, c/o Andrew Jackson Hotel, Rock Hill, South Carolina, and mail it at once. No postage is required. No absentee ballot can be counted that is received after 6:00 p.m., June 4, 1960.
The Election Board will be available on June 3, 1960, between the hours of 4:00 and 6:00 p.m. at the Catawba School House to determine any claim as to the right of any person not listed to vote, as well as any challenge to the right to vote of any person who is listed, and the findings of such Board shall be final.

This notice is being mailed to all absentee voters, posted at the Catawba School House, at the LDS Church, the Post Office, Rock Hill, South Carolina, the Tribal Building, and a supply is being furnished to Chief Albert Sanders and Secretary Gladys Thomas for Distribution; upon request to every eligible voter.

Darrell Fleming, Superintendent
APPENDIX 8

Constitution and By-Laws of the Catawba Indian Nation of South Carolina

Preamble

We, the members of the Catawba Indian Nation of South Carolina, in order to set up an effective tribal organization, to improve our social and economic welfare, and to secure to ourselves and our posterity the benefits of organization, do hereby establish and ordain this constitution and by-laws for the Catawba Indian Nation.

Article I - Territory

The jurisdiction of the Catawba Nation shall extend to the land within the boundaries of the present Indian Reservation in South Carolina, and to such other lands as may hereafter be acquired for the mutual benefits of its members.

Article II - Membership

Section 1. The membership of the Catawba Nation of South Carolina shall consist of:

(a) All persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the tribal roll of July 1, 1943, as recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the
U. S. Department of Interior.

(b) All children born to any member of the Catawba Nation.

Section 2. The General Tribal Council, hereinafter provided for, shall have the power to pass ordinances, covering future membership.

Article III - Governing Body

Section 1. The governing body of the Catawba Nation of South Carolina shall be the General Tribal Council which shall be composed of all qualified voters of the Catawba Nation.

Section 2. All enrolled members of the Catawba Nation, male or female, who are 18 years of age or over shall be qualified voters at any Tribal Meeting.

Section 3. The General Tribal Council, by secret ballot, shall elect from its own members

(a) a chief, (b) an assistant chief, (c) a secretary-treasurer, and

(d) two committee men shall ex-officio, serve as the Executive Tribal Committee of the Nation, as provided in Sec. 5 of this Article and Section 3, Article I of the by-laws.

Section 4. The General Tribal Council shall meet on the first Saturday of January, April, July, and October of each year. After the ratification and approval of this constitution and by-laws, a General Tribal Council of the Nation shall be called by the present Chief for the purpose of electing the officers named here and it shall transact such other business as may be necessary. The officers elected at this meeting shall
thereupon take office and serve until July, 1979, meeting at which time
their successors shall be chosen. Thereafter, officials shall be
chosen at the July meeting of every second and fourth year for four
year office terms. The assistant chief and the second committeeman
shall be elected and two years later the chief, the first committeeman
and the secretary-treasurer shall be elected, always retaining experi-
ence in the Executive Committee. The Chief or 10% of the qualified
voters of the Nation, by written notice may call special meetings of the
General Tribal Council. Ten percent of the qualified voters of the
Nation shall constitute a quorum at any special or regular meeting.
Section 5. There shall be an Executive Tribal Committee consisting of
the Chief, Assistant Chief, Secretary-Treasurer, and the two Committe-
men provided for in Section 3 of this Article, which Committee shall
perform such duties as may from time to time be conferred on it by the
General Tribal Council.

Article IV - Powers of the General Tribal Council
Section 1. The General Tribal Council of the Catawba Nation shall
exercise the following powers, subject to any limitations imposed by
this constitution and by the statutes of the Constitution of the United
States:
(a) To negotiate with the Federal, State, and local governments;
(b) To employ legal counsel, the choice of counsel and fixing of fees;
(c) To veto any sale, disposition, lease, or encumbrance of Catawba lands, interests in lands, or other Catawba assets of the Nation;
(d) To pass and enforce ordinances, providing for the supervision and management of Catawba lands, including provisions for assignments of Catawba land to the members;
(e) To protect and preserve the property, wildlife, and natural resources of the Nation;
(f) To adopt resolutions regulating the procedures of the General Tribal Council itself and of other Catawba agencies and Catawba officials;
(g) To regulate the use and disposition of Catawba property and funds.

Section 2. The Executive Tribal Committee may exercise such further powers as may hereafter be delegated to it by a majority vote of members of the General Tribal Council.

Section 3. Reserved Powers - Any rights and powers heretofore vested in the Catawba Nation of South Carolina, but not expressly referred to in this Constitution, shall not be abridged by this Article, but may be exercised by the people of the Nation through the adoption of appropriate by-laws and constitutional amendments.
Article V - Vacancies and Removal

Section 1. In case of a vacancy of any office caused by death, resignation, permanent removal from the state, or expulsion from office, such vacancy shall be filled at the next general council meeting of the Nation, or by special meeting called by Executive Tribal Committee.

Section 2. In case of misconduct, immorality, or neglect of duty by any tribal officer, 10% of eligible voters of the tribe may, by written petition, prefer charges against any such official at a regular or special meeting of the General Tribal Council. The accused shall be notified in advance of such meeting of the charges and shall have an opportunity to defend himself at such meeting. A majority vote of a quorum of all eligible voters shall be necessary to remove an official from office.

Article VI - Amendments

Amendments of this constitution and by-laws may be proposed by a majority vote of a quorum of the Catawba General Tribal Council and may be ratified and approved in the same manner as this constitution and by-laws.

RESOLUTIONS TO THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

1. The General Council resolves that the existing reservation cannot be reduced in size or terminated.
2. The General Council resolves that Catawba General Council and Executive Committee Records are the property of the General Council and not of any member or officer.

3. The General Council resolves that residences placed on Catawba property must be placed at least 300 yds. from other residences not separated by roads and does not affect existing residences.

4. The General Council resolves that non-Indian spouses of deceased or divorced Catawbas who do not have children of Catawba descent may not reside on the reservation longer than 6 months and may be compensated for water systems or residences left as incurred costs to that spouse and the deceased.

5. The General Council resolves that residents of and visitors to the Catawba Reservation are subject to the constitution, By-laws and Resolutions of the Catawba Nation. Authority of enforcement is vested in the Executive Committee.

6. The General Council resolves that applications have to be presented to the Executive Committee and approved before new homesites and facilities can be claimed and utilized on the Reservation. Such residences must be registered to enrolled members.

7. The General Council resolves that Reservation property can only be assigned and utilized on a one year and small acreage basis through application approved of the Executive Committee.
8. The General Council resolves that members claiming Reservation property must furnish proof of that property utilized on a regular approved basis or the control of that property reverts back to the control and supervision of the Executive Committee.

9. The General Council extends authority to the Executive Committee in developing and controlling new residences on the reservation in compliance with existing laws.
GLOSSARY

Apostle: An apostle is a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles chosen to be a special witness for Christ and to administer to the affairs of the Church.

Branch: Congregations of LDS Church members which are not large and stable enough to form wards are organized into branches, presided over by a branch president. The larger and more powerful branches, those with considerable stability and local leadership, are called independent branches. They operate as nearly like a regular ward as their circumstances permit. Dependent branches are usually smaller and less endowed with local leadership; they receive help in their programs from some other ward or branch, upon which they are dependent.

Church: As used in this study the word Church refers to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which was organized on April 6, 1830.

Conference: First, this term is employed in the usually accepted way--as a formal meeting or convocation of members held yearly on a ward or branch level, semi-annually on the entire Church level, and four times a year on a stake level. And second, conference was formerly the name applied to a geographical subdivision of any given mission.

Elder: An elder is an ordained male member who has been formally called and set apart for Church service. He bears what is known as the "Melchizedek" or "Higher" Priesthood. The term has specific reference to the first ordained office in that priesthood, although in the mission fields of the Church it is used as a title for all male missionaries.

First Presidency: The President of the LDS Church and his counselors, together called the First Presidency, hold supreme directing power and authority over the Church.
Gentile: LDS Church members refer to a person who is not a baptized member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a gentile.

LDS: This is an abbreviation for Latter-day Saints.

Lamanite: The Book of Mormon (2 Nephi 5:19-25) describes Lamanites as a group of people who rebelled against God and were cursed. A mark of a dark skin was placed upon them to distinguish them from their brothers who remained faithful. In Mormon theology the Lamanites are identified as the Indian cultures of North and South America.

Mission: A mission is an administrative unit of the Church organized in areas limited in Church membership. The mission is divided into districts, which in turn are composed of branches.

Mission Schools: Mission schools were established by non-LDS Christian churches for the purpose of teaching their own children as well as attempting to teach the Mormon children in order to rescue them from Mormon indoctrination.

Mormon: This term is a nickname for the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Saints: Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints call themselves saints.

Stake: A stake is an administrative unit of the Church composed of several wards.

Ward: The basic ecclesiastical district or church unit in and through which the programs of the LDS Church are administered is the ward. Several wards form a stake of Zion. A bishop is the presiding ward officer; all Aaronic Priesthood quorums are ward quorums; and substantially all of the actual operation of all the programs of the Church takes place in the ward rather than in some larger or higher unit.
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A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE MORMON CHURCH
ON THE CATAWBA INDIANS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
1882 - 1975

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to discuss the origin and development of the Southern States Mission of the Mormon Church as it relates to the Catawba Indians of York County. The primary purpose of this relationship was to teach the Indian people the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. It is also the purpose of this study to show the significance of the change in the Catawba society resulting from this mission. From the time the first Mormon missionaries came into contact with the Catawbas, their lives have been deeply influenced by the teachings of the LDS Church. Every aspect of the Catawbas' lives was changed as a direct result of Mormonism.

It was found that an enormous amount of courage, time, and effort was expended on the part of the Catawbas, as well as the Mormons, in developing this relationship. As a result, the Catawba Indians are atypical as compared with other Indian tribes in that they have much lower rates of alcoholism, drug addiction, crime, suicide, and illiteracy.

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